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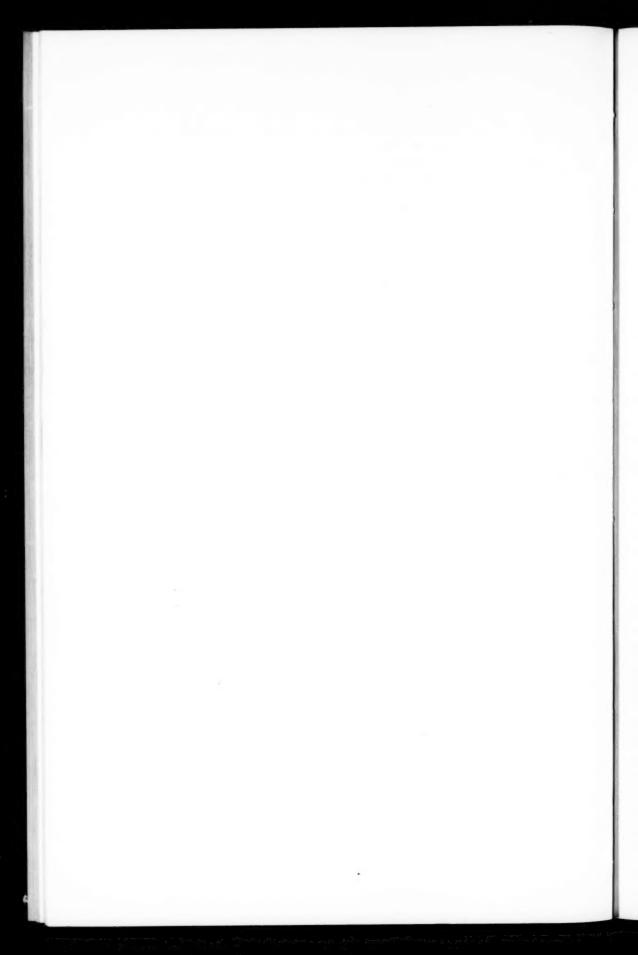
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A Sociological Approach to Farm Tenancy Research

Otis Durant Duncan*

ABSTRACT

The thesis of this paper is that farm tenancy is an attempted adaptation of land and other resources to human needs through definite socially sanctioned institutional channels. Thus far, however, sociological research in farm tenancy has been incidental for the most part. Hence there is a need for more specific research on tenancy as a purely sociological phenomenon or as a pattern of social adjustment. The principal task of the paper is, therefore, to set up definite general propositions or hypotheses to be tested by research. In all, fifteen propositions are posited which purport to cover, if not the entire sociology of farm tenancy, at least its major aspects.

Objective research in farm tenancy from a sociological point of view is of relatively recent origin. That is the reason why at the present time, when there is a piercing need for thoroughgoing and extensive information regarding farm tenancy as a sociological phenomenon, it is necessary for investigators to cast about almost despairingly in an effort to build up an adequate working fund of knowledge on it. The first thing of which an awareness is felt is a need for more study and more light upon the subject. There are, true enough, scores and perhaps hundreds of sociological studies of which farm tenancy is an incidental phase. Studies of standards of living, social participation, purposive rural organization, rural cultural change, rural community organization, and the like have frequently used tenure status as a method of dividing populations into more or less contrasting groups. Despite all this, a beginning has been made in a rather unorganized manner toward the formation of a body of knowledge on some of the more obvious social aspects of tenancy.1

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¹ For helpful bibliographical material see Louise O. Bercaw, Farm Tenancy In the United States 1918-1936: A Selected List of References, USDA BAE, Bibliography No. 70; Edgar A. Schuler, "The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants," RURAL SOCIOLOGY, III, No. 1 (March, 1938), 20-23; The President's Committee of the National Resources Committee, Farm Tenancy (Washington, 1937), pp. 106-107. A study of these references will verify the foregoing contentions adequately. This list could be extended almost indefinitely.

By and large, however, rural sociological research has failed to account adequately for the existence of tenancy as a social datum except in so far as it is believed to represent a pathological or a degenerate form of socioeconomic existence. There is danger, even now, that the current interest being manifested in problems which are axially related to tenancy grows out of a conviction that it is wholly a dangerous form of social deviation which is bound up in unethical, unjust, and mercenary systems of land occupancy, and that as such it should be got rid of in the quickest way possible, as if it were only a noxious scourge upon the human race. This appears to have been an implication in practically all attempts at studying the phenomenon of tenancy thus far. The time has come when it is necessary to do some pioneer thinking on the problem to the end that new angles may be discovered which may provide an access into its deepest hidden recesses. This can be scarcely achieved on the basis of prejudice or emotional dislike for a difficult and knotty problem.

The purpose of this paper is, therefore, to set forth as clearly as possible a few of the more salient sociological phases of farm tenancy which at the present time seem to require study and investigation. It is proposed to confine the paper to concepts, characteristics, and processes which are believed by the writer to be functionally associated with farm tenancy as it relates to the morphology or structural form of rural society in the United States. By this there is no intention to preempt for rural sociology any phase of farm tenancy to the exclusion of other social science disciplines. It is the assumption here, however, that those aspects of tenancy which relate to the organization of rural society in its human relations primarily, as distinguished from its economic and business activities, are in need of clarification and enlargement. This will only emphasize the need for a similar undertaking on the part of agricultural economists, soils and agronomic technicians, and other specialists who are concerned with tenancy as it relates to farm production, farm organization, and farm management. Obviously, such a task as is undertaken here will be entirely futile unless the thinking done can be utilized to clear the way for some serious factual researches in the sociological implications of farm tenancy. This paper does not attempt in the slightest way to constitute a factual analysis of farm tenancy such as it anticipates for the future.

A sociological research program in farm tenancy must be predicated upon the general proposition that tenancy is a phase of land tenure and that its limitations and advantages are to be expressed as relatives rather than as absolutes. To aid in the formulation of such a research program it is necessary to posit certain more or less specific hypotheses or propositions to be tested inductively by the accumulation of pertinent data in each case. Some sociological hypotheses which require verification include, among others, the following which are suggested without necessary reference to the order of their importance:

First, various forms of land tenure are derivatives of a cardinal institutional function in group life, i.e., land as property whether it is owned and controlled jointly, individually, publicly, or privately. In any case land occupiers are tenants in the last analysis, the differences between classes of tenants arising out of the form, nature, and time limitations of their terms of tenure and from the source of their authority—the community, an individual, a partnership of individuals, or a cooperative society, etc.—to occupy their land and to determine the uses to which it may be put.

Second, tenure in general, and tenancy in particular, is a process of creating initial attachments between land and individuals who lack property and capital, age, experience, or other qualifications necessary to enable them to purchase land of their own. In this respect it is a system of apprenticeship and a training period for ownership at such a time when and if the individual farmer becomes ready to assume the obligations of owning a farm.

Third, farm tenancy or occupancy conveys to and confers upon the individul certain rights and obligations which are contractual by nature and which are relative rather than absolute. The nature of these rights, their number and scope, depends upon (1) the equity in, and (2) the term of occupancy of the land in question. In all cases the community reserves for itself the right to tax, the right to police, and the right to condemn for public use any and all lands held under its jurisdiction. Therefore, the relationship of an individual to the land he occupies is a determinant of his social status within the group of which he is a part.

Fourth, farm tenancy is a method (1) of preserving family holdings and (2) of transferring property in land from one generation to the next. In other words, it is a process of joint ownership and inheritance. By this is meant that families or other groups may pool their possessions and preserve them intact as a guarantee of whatever security there may be in land ownership.

Fifth, farm tenancy provides a socially approved method—not the only method—for succoring the aged and infirm, for the care of the poor, and for the supervision of the inert and relatively incapable classes of the farm population without the necessity of their becoming wards of the community or of philanthropy.

Sixth, farm tenancy is and provides a method of (1) shifting risks and fixed costs from the shoulders of the cultivators, who prefer keeping their investments in capital form rather than in land, to those of the rentiers, who carry their

investments in lands, and (2) of adjusting land requirements to family need without jeopardizing the solvency of the farm operator by forcing upon him additional risks and fixed charges such as interest, taxes, and depreciation.

Seventh, tenure in general, and tenancy in particular, is an index of social status in the group, that is, in agricultural society and in human society generally. By social status is meant the totality of the rights, benefits, enfranchisements, liberties, obligations, duties, and disabilities which appertain to an individual or a group in relation to, or because of, the possession of a given trait or characteristic. The question is, therefore: What are the concessions extended to and the limitations imposed upon a given individual because of his contractual relationship to the land he occupies? Tenancy, being one phase of the land tenure pattern, is a determinant or social status of a population. It is therefore a factor in social differentiation and stratification, of social selection, and is a channel of social mobility. That the social strata may be either open and vaguely differentiated or that they may be abruptly and sharply defined and separated by impregnable barriers to social mobility does not nullify the hypothesis that social status is a function of land tenure.

Eighth, given forms of land occupancy such as ownership and tenancy are functionally related to standards of living, planes of living, social participation, community organization, and cultural advancement of a population. Differentials between farm owners and tenants in respect to these phenomena are doubtless of great significance.

Ninth, contractual relations of farmers to the land they occupy whether as tenants or as owners are factors in both social and geographic mobility of a population because they impel the individual to make both temporal and spatial adjustments to the land and to the community he inhabits.

Tenth, land tenure in general, and farm tenancy in particular, is related to the structure of a population and to vital processes. It is significantly associated with such population characteristics as age and sex composition, size of family, density of population, birth and death rates, survival ratios, forms of family organization, and the characteristics of the family life cycle.

Eleventh, systems of land tenure including various forms of farm tenancy are associated with the work habits and work organization of the farm family. Apparently tenants spend a larger part of their total working time actually in operations related to crop cultivation and harvesting than owners. This means that tenants may have more leisure, or idle time, than owner-operators, and that they are likely to exploit the land and community resources to a greater extent than owners on farms.

Twelfth, tenancy makes possible the phenomenon of absentee ownership of land, which is itself a system of exploitation primarily. Thus, from the viewpoint of the conservationist, the incidence of exploitation of land resources in a community becomes cumulative in areas where both absentee ownership and tenancy exist in relatively high proportions.

Thirteenth, farm tenancy is, under stated conditions, an index of various forms of socioeconomic degeneracy, disintegration, and deterioration. This may

occur when the increase in the proportion of farms, or of farm land, tended by tenants exceeds the turnover in farm occupancy arising from (1) the age maturation of the farm population and (2) the predictable migration balance during a specified time interval. These two factors alone must account for a definite increase in the proportion of farm tenancy in an area in which land is a limited factor. Oklahoma is a case in point where in a single generation the proportion of tenant-operated farms increased from a negligible quantity to well over three-fifths of all the farms. In other words, the proposition is that where there is an imbalance between the net growth of farm population and the proportion of tenant-operated farms there are strong probabilities that a condition of economic chaos exists. The problem is to find its causes.

Fourteenth, farm tenancy is a manifestation of a folk pattern in agricultural society, and as such it is an accepted and sanctioned response or adjustment to the socioeconomic process of collective existence. It involves no stigma upon the beginning farmer who in his youth has mainly his energy, health, and his ambition—one farmer tersely described himself as having only a strong back and a well cultivated appetite—as his main assets and his chief prospects for becoming a land owner. Yet tenancy definitely stigmatizes the "chronic" tenant in his old age for whom renting land has become only a rationalization for having followed the line of least resistance all his life. As such a manifestation of accommodation in various phases of the life cycle, tenancy may be said to reflect folkways, folk attitudes, and folk sanctions.

Fifteenth, farm tenure in general, and farm tenancy in particular, is an economic pattern by which an attempt is made to support the greatest possible number of people on a given amount of land. This is believed to apply especially in the case (1) of retiring farmers who retain full ownership of their lands and seek to live from their rents while the tenant lives from his contribution of labor and capital, and (2) of farm owners who occupy their farms jointly with their adult children who combine their farming enterprises with care for and protection of their failing parents. It is thus a process of division of labor in an effort to succor the largest possible number of people when both the land owner and the tenant would be unable to carry on independently.²

The foregoing propositions have been set up as hypotheses to be tested by research on the sociological aspects of farm tenancy. Admittedly each of these propositions has an economic content and also bears many economic implications. This, in itself, is a reason why sociological and economic research in farm tenancy must be developed pari passu if a comprehensive understanding of the more fundamental aspects of the problems couched in it is to be gained. Therefore, these propositions should not be thought of as sociological dolmens which exist by,

² I am indebted to Carl C. Taylor for criticisms and suggestions which led to the formulation of propositions 13-15 inclusive. However, I am mainly responsible for the forms in which these statements appear.

of, and for themselves, but they are only related parts of a composite whole which must be conceived in relation to the whole if they are to be significant.

Perhaps a pertinent basic question that should be raised at this juncture is: What are the sociological problems which would not arise in the total absence of some form of farm tenancy? Doubtless there are such problems, but it is apparent that there are many problems that are associated with tenancy which would exist if it were totally absent, but which are magnified in the presence of tenancy. On the other hand, What sociological problems would there be if there were no such thing as farm ownership? A corollary to the main question is, therefore: What part of all the problems in agriculture owe their genesis to tenancy and ownership in common; what problems arise from ownership only; and what problems are outgrowths of tenancy only? Also, What proportion of all the problems of ownership and tenancy actually exist only as relatives when one form of tenure is contrasted with another? If these questions can be resolved into their respective components, it may be possible to proceed with fruitful research into them. Until some method has been devised by which the putative evils which are alleged to beset farm tenancy can be shown to have a definite existence only when they are studied in relation to tenancy, and not when ownership is present in any sense at all, it will be impossible to determine whether a given situation has a direct reference to tenancy or to a general condition. Perhaps it may be said rightly that this necessary step is itself the nub of the problem of tenancy research.3

This paper does not propose to develop techniques for studying farm tenancy. It has set forth simply in problem form certain phases of farm tenancy which are believed to be of sociological import. It has attempted to lift out of all that is known about farm tenancy some definite hypotheses or propositions which, in the opinion of the writer, may be sociologically significant and which may not be impervious to

⁸ In the light of this point of view, most of the studies of farm tenancy that have been made thus far are of little value except as starting points for future research. Even Schuler's study (SRR No. 4, BAE [Washington, April, 1938]) and the Report of the President's Committee, Farm Tenancy (Washington, February, 1937), ignore the principle set up here. The usual procedure in these and other studies has been to draw sweeping comparisons and to say that tenants exhibit a greater or a lesser incidence of a given trait than owners in the same locality. If we take the problem of illiteracy, for example, it is frequently said that tenancy is highly correlated with this phenomenon. Perhaps it is, but so are foreign bornness, poverty, age, and many other factors. All of these traits of a population must be held constant if a study of tenancy is to yield significant results.

the methods and techniques of sociological analysis. It is the thesis of the paper that farm tenancy is an attempted adaptation of land and other resources to human needs through definite socially sanctioned institutional channels. The writer believes that prejudice, misconception, and often propaganda with malicious intent have clouded the problems of farm tenancy with a dense pall of confusion, and that this mental rubbish must be cleared away before anyone will be able to peer into them beyond the most superficial depths of their outer surfaces. Undoubtedly, much of what has been written and said on this subject constitutes nothing more nor less than the defenses of vested interests on both sides of the question and the wishful thinking of zealous evangelistic reformers on the side of the farm tenant. Much of it has been also a blind defense of ownership in its existing form. Needless to say, the research worker must be deaf toward the overtures of partisan mutterings regardless of their sources or whom they favor.

Finally, let it be said that if tenancy is a problem in and of itself, an action program designed to cope with it must be based upon a painstaking diagnosis and prognosis. The tenancy system has existed too long in America to be susceptible of therapeutic applications to its superficial and external symptoms. If it is a form of socioeconomic degeneracy or a kind of disease in the social system, its etiology must be known before corrective measures can be undertaken. Otherwise, how can anyone be sure that supposed remedies which may be applied will not aggravate the basic trouble and cause it to spread throughout the whole system? What assurance is there that the palliatives offered the tenant farmer during the decade which has just closed will not lead toward universal tenancy? If the ownership of land is the untainted good it is believed by some to be, and if tenancy is the unmitigated diabolitical evil it has been asserted to be, a premature action program designed to eradicate tenancy before research can discover its fundamental characteristics and variants may do immeasurable harm. Thus it is all the more important that research programs on farm tenancy seek to forsake the smoothly worn paths which have been followed for years and proceed to blaze trails in a wilderness through which researchers have traveled little thus far. This is the task to which the present paper has been addressed.

Concepts of Marginality in Rural Population Studies†

Robin M. Williams*

ABSTRACT

Current use of the concept of marginality with reference to farm populations raises certain problems of interpretation. Three types of marginality may be distinguished: social welfare, cultural, and economic. Welfare marginality refers to a level of "decent living" and therefore constitutes a value judgment defining a social problem. Cultural marginality arises at those points at which a population is confronted with instable, ambiguous, or conflicting norms for conduct. The economic margin may refer either to grades or to units of population, and is conditioned upon social definitions of standards of living. The distinction between margin returns and average per capita returns is essential for clarity.

The nature of the distribution of resources, rates of population growth, skills, and abilities affects per capita returns. Inequalities which raise returns in the short-run may have unanticipated long-time results. Social structures and their supporting sentiments exert a significant influence upon mobility in response to economic conditions. Because of this a social equilibrium is of a different order from, and does not necessarily correspond to, an economic equilibrium. Studies in rural sociology have made important contributions to the analysis of this problem; the outlook for further analytical research is promising.

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years there have been many attempts to orient the concept of marginality to "problem" rural populations. Three main streams of thought have constituted the immediate source of this phenomenon. One is that which has been concerned with land-use problems and land-use planning. The second has derived from the fusion of economic theory and empirical population research. The third current has come from those whose direct interest has been in the amelioration of the conditions of life of the lower income groups. Efforts to apply the theory of margins to farm populations have led to theoretical complications which have their counterparts in policy and action. This paper purposes to do two things: (1) to illustrate the diversity of meanings which are attached to the concept of margin and (2) to indicate the social qualifications which must be added to the economic analysis of

[†] This is a modification of a paper entitled "Causes of 'Marginality' in Farm People," which was read before the Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology section, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Birmingham, February 7, 1940.

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marginality and certain related problems. Its chief aims, therefore, are in furthering the clarification of the issues involved and in suggesting additional lines of analysis.

II. THREE CONCEPTS OF MARGIN

The concept "margin" is currently used in at least three different senses. In the first place there are the familiar meanings employed in conventional economic equilibrium analysis. Another usage is in connection with what may be called the "empirical" or "social welfare" margin, which is employed to mark off a "lower third" or some other such proportion of a given population. Thirdly, there is the concept of cultural margins as analyzed by sociological theory. The three concepts will be taken up in order, with cursory attention to empirical and cultural marginality and a more detailed consideration of problems related to the economic case.

III. THE MARGIN OF "DECENT LIVING"

First of all, a word should be said concerning what is called here the "empirical" or "social welfare" margin. This is a level of returns below which it is felt a population cannot fall and still enjoy a "decent" content of living.¹ Depending upon the writer's inclinations, including his social sympathies, the income level chosen may mark off almost any conceivable proportion of the population. That the level selected must be a more-or-less arbitrary one does not necessarily detract from the social utility of such an approach.² Like the food budgets of the United States Bureau of Home Economics, certain "minimum" and "adequate" levels of living may provide useful social goals. In the sphere of social action, this procedure is a legitimate way of crystallizing value judgments.³ However inapplicable as a tool of scientific analysis such a

¹ An example of this usage is to be found in W. E. Garnett, *Does Virginia Care? Some Significant Population Questions*, Virginia AES Mimeographed Report No. 3, Division of Rural Sociology (January, 1936), p. 1.

² In practice, the range of "arbitrariness" is limited by customary standards prevailing in the society at large. We may illustrate its working in this way: If we classify all families receiving less than \$600 in gross product value as reported by the census as "marginal," following the practice of Garnett, we find that 66 out of the 120 counties in Kentucky have 50 per cent or more of their farm families in this group, 26 counties have 75 per cent or more, and 7 counties have 85 per cent or more. Certainly these figures indicate low income levels. It would, however, be difficult to demonstrate that any such high proportions fall below the level of "decent living" as defined in their communities.

³ As Willard Waller has indicated, the one thing which all social problems have in common is the fact that someone has made a value judgment about a situation. ("Social Problems and the Mores," American Sociological Review, I[1936], 922-933).

normative concept may be, the attempts to set up welfare standards are of considerable interest in themselves as data for analysis. Present emphasis upon welfare judgments of the rural level of living are in part derived from the complex of elements in the humanitarian mores and in the doctrine of progress, on the one hand, and from certain changes in "interests" and social structure on the other. A thorough analysis of the sources and functional significance of this pattern of values would be a major contribution to the understanding of present changes in rural America. It is not the task of this paper, however, to undertake such a treatment; for present purposes it is sufficient to indicate explicitly that there is an area of problems related to welfare marginality which might profitably be investigated.

IV. THE CULTURAL MARGIN

The concept of cultural marginality is employed in sociology and anthropology in the analysis of intercultural contacts. The marginal men of which sociology speaks are those who are caught in between two or more cultures with their conflicting definitions, goals, and values.4 Individuals at a cultural margin have difficulty in gaining any stable conception of their social role. The tension and uncertainty of their precarious position results in high sensitivity and instability. They tend to show much tension, and their behavior appears erratic because of frequent shifts between extremes of contradictory behavior. They live "in between" social worlds, and their uncertainty as to ideals and values places them in a peculiarly difficult position. The race or ethnic hybrid is the type case, e.g., the Southern mulatto or the partially assimilated immigrant. Also marginal, however, are certain groups in the process of social ascent and descent. In still a third subcategory we have a large marginal farm population. Many of our more isolated groups have only recently come into contact with the values and practices of our dominant urban civilization. In many cases the result has been that the life of the population, under the impact of new values from "outside," ". . . . ended its peasant culture phase and became

⁴ Cf. Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII (1928), 881-893; Everett V. Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XLI (1935), 1-12; Kurt Lewin, "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (1939), 874-882. The concept as used by these writers is clearly a shorthand descriptive phase covering a complex of elements, i.e., it is a residual category. Further analysis of its components would be a valuable contribution to theoretical thinking on this problem.

characteristically no more than marginal existence." Some of these groups have acquired new definitions of themselves and of what constitutes a desirable life, without completely relinquishing the elements of the original culture. Such a situation contains precisely the factors making for the type of intrapersonal conflict which has been taken to describe the marginal man.

V. THE ECONOMIC MARGIN

- 1. Introduction. Two broad sets of problems are often discussed in relation to the concept of economic marginality. One is that of the factors involved in low marginal, economic returns in agriculture, as compared with other lines of production. The other concerns the problem of unequal returns among the various segments of the farm population itself. In view of the intensive discussion which of late has been directed toward the latter focus, it has seemed best here to concentrate mainly upon the first set of problems.
- 2. Factors in Differentials Within a Given Farm Population. The problems of why some farm groups receive more than others is, obviously, too complex for analysis here. Merely by way of illustrating an approach, the factors subsumed under "differences in ability" may be examined. "Ability" is always ability relative to a situation: the farmer may be incompetent, for example, because he is operating a farm too small for his type of managerial proclivities. Ability is no clear unitary thing but a shifting complex of manifold and varied skills and traits, some conditioned upon hereditary equipment, most, probably, upon social experience. "Lack of ability" in the lower income strata is compounded from lack of formal education, poor health, lack of technical and social experience, innate factors, and finally, attitudes and values inculcated as appropriate to a lower-class position. The last named factor accounts for much of the "lack of ambition," which is sometimes deplored. Incidentally, one may stir up some interesting thoughts about the social equilibrium by asking what would happen if high active ambitions were generally prevalent in all our low income groups under present conditions of opportunity.6

⁵ M. Taylor Matthews, Experience Worlds of Mountain People (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 41.

⁶ A stimulating analysis of some related problems is to be found in "Social Structure and Anomie," an article by Robert K. Merton, *American Sociological Review*, III (October, 1938), pp. 672-682.

3. The Concept of the Economic Margin. The allocation of scarce means, having alternative uses, to given ends is the essential economic process. When in production successive units of any factor or factors are applied, a point will eventually be reached at which the last unit added just "pays for itself." This is the marginal unit. In this sense the marginal farm population is that population whose contribution to the economic process is just sufficient to keep it in production under existing conditions. In so far as the assumptions of classical theory are borne out in any concrete case, there will be an equilibration of resources among various lines of production so that marginal returns are equalized. Assuming other factors as fixed, population increments may be added up to the point at which one more person could not secure subsistence. The last individual who makes his own way is the "marginal man"; some variants of Malthusian theory argued that population increase would always tend to go to the margin of physical subsistence.

Nothing could be more obvious, however, than that population does not always increase to the physical margin. Instead, the position of the margin tends to be fixed by social definitions of material standards of living.⁸ What is a submarginal return for a native farmer on a California vegetable farm may be well above the margin for a Japanese immigrant. The marginal man produces just enough to support himself, but the important point is that "support" gets its meaning not so much from physical necessities as from social requirements. Furthermore, that level of returns in a given industry which will be marginal is equilibrated with the productivity of other industries in so far as they compete for labor supply under conditions of free mobility and perfect competition. In the long run, and under these conditions, therefore, an industry "gets what it produces"; if its products are valued low by the society, it will not be able to bid high for labor.

4. Marginal Returns and Average Per Capita Returns. It is not al-

⁷ For simplicity, we disregard alternative opportunity costs. There is, of course, a marginal grade of labor which will not be used at all for a given employment as well as a marginal unit within this grade.

⁸ The influence of preceding levels of economic productivity need not be considered at the moment. The relations of standard of living and historical content of living are far more complex than appears at first glance. Furthermore, short-time and long-time relationships may be of different orders. See C. C. Zimmerman, Consumption and Standards of Living (New York: Van Nostrand, 1936), pp. 43-44, 302-305, 426-428, and 560; and Max Weber's treatment of active asceticism and the accumulation of wealth is also relevant: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, tr. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1930), pp. 117-121 and 170-182.

ways clear whether discussions of rural incomes and levels of living are concerned with marginal returns or average per capita returns. The relations involved are by no means simple. It is essential to remember that if any group in a given population multiplies to the physical margin, the marginal output is the same as though the whole society went to this point. The proportion of the population at this level obviously affects the size of the total and per capita outputs. Raising the material standard of living to some determined height above physical subsistence in those groups of the population having the lowest standards is the only way to make possible a higher marginal return. Increased productivity will otherwise simply result in a larger population on the same level of living.

In so far as the elements taken into account in classical economic theory are actually the effective factors in economic activity within a concrete social system, average per capita returns will be increased by the following conditions: (1) Assuming some positive limitation of population growth, a larger quantity of resources per capita will raise returns. (2) Likewise, greater efficiency of "labor" and "management," i.e., a larger output per unit of input of the other factors with which human effort is associated, will contribute in the same direction. (3) A larger proportion of the population with relatively high standards of living is a further condition implied in the above. (4) Concentration of the control of resources in the hands of the more capable labor and management, within certain limits, may raise per capita output. This is true both because of the lesser resources available to others, resulting in a smaller total population, and because of the differential productivity of those resources controlled by groups of high economic ability.¹¹

⁹ John D. Black, "Agricultural Population in Relation to Agricultural Resources," The Annals (November, 1936), p. 2.

¹⁰ In the sense of "a content of living insisted upon and actively sought." (This is the definition given in *Research in Farm Family Living*, SSRC Bulletin No. 11 [New York, April, 1933], p. 41.) Not every wish or fantasy qualifies under this definition. Operationally, "insisted upon and actively sought" is defined by the points at which people begin to do something to maintain or increase the content of living, e.g., work longer and harder, have fewer children, marry later, change occupations, revolt, commit suicide, migrate, put a mortgage on the farm. The standard of living is thus the normal, socially sanctioned expectation of a given group. (Cf. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937], p. 336.)

¹¹ This, of course, assumes a certain social framework which, in fact, may be changed as a result of the concentration of control of resources. It is hardly necessary to add that these propositions are theoretical constructs and not descriptions of any concrete situation. (See Black, op. cit., pp. 2-4, for a concise statement of the economic theory involved.)

It should be noted that, even though raising the managerial abilities of all who control resources will increase per capita returns (in so far as population increase is limited), the above proposition is independent of the *general* level of ability. Finally, if differences in ability are to contribute to higher per capita outputs, it is necessary that the more competent groups limit reproduction at a level above subsistence.

With respect to a concrete social system, as over against an abstract economic construct, it must be indicated that factors making for a "desirable" short-run economic situation may have important unanticipated ramifications for the system as a going concern. For example, in our present social structure, inequalities which tend indirectly to raise per capita returns may augment cultural marginality, as may also increases in other types of heterogeneity. Reductions in birth rates influence class structure, vertical social mobility, and family structure, and reflect changes in social values which may eventuate in situations which could not be predicted on the basis of the first approximation which economic theory represents. In short, social organization and the "state of the arts" cannot be taken as independent variables unaffected by population growth and changes. 13

Now, it is apparent that the concrete factors in a low average per capita return in agriculture are multitudinous. ¹⁴ It seems reasonable, for example, to expect on a priori grounds that per capita returns would be lowered to some extent because of the nature of the distribution of population increase within the farm as contrasted with the nonfarm population. Poorer agricultural areas, it is true, have relatively high fertility rates; and the richer areas show rates intermediate between poor and isolated regions and the great cities. But some studies have

12 For an analysis of some consequences of this nature which result from action directed toward greater "efficiency" in production, see C. Horace Hamilton, "Social Effects of Mechanization of Agriculture," RURAL SOCIOLOGY, IV (1939), 3-19. Cultural marginality is favored by increased heterogeneity under conditions of high mobility, facile social contacts, high visibility of social differences, and the presence of cultural assumptions of universal opportunity for social ascent through individual merit.

13 A reduction in fertility and the rate of population growth may have one set of implications when this occurs in a region or social class within a population which is expanding as a whole, and a quite different set when the decline affects a country or an entire area of civilization. Some interesting discussions of certain aspects of this problem are to be found in J. J. Spengler, France Faces Depopulation, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1938); the works of G. Myrdal and C. Gini may also be mentioned in this connection.

14 There may be a question as to whether marginal returns in agriculture are lower than in other economic sectors. Certainly some urban population strata multiply to a point near the physical margin at which the negative checks begin to assume importance.

shown that within a given area, and above a certain moderate level of income, there appears to be little relationship between economic status and fertility.¹⁵ In the cities, on the other hand, there is a very marked inverse relationship.¹⁶ Data of the type necessary to test the above hypothesis are scanty and sometimes contradictory, and it is certain that differentials are changing rapidly. It is therefore impossible to make an adequate appraisal of the role of this factor.

A more basic factor in low agricultural returns is the fact of the small per capita resources available in production. It has been demonstrated that the level of returns to agriculture in various sections of the United States is closely associated with the supply of capital goods per worker. The facts thus support the proposition that "... the less land and capital goods labor has to work upon or with, the less its contribution and the lower its wage." ¹⁷⁷

Were the "factors of production" perfectly mobile, population and resources would shift from one area to another or from farming to other employments whenever returns fell below those to be obtained elsewhere. Under these conditions, if it could be assumed that "units" of population were completely interchangeable, a given grade of labor would receive the same wage in all employments. In actuality, there is considerable evidence which indicates that the shifts to better economic alternatives do not always occur; and when they do, they take place only slowly and against strong resistances. Economic action takes place within a social framework and is subject to certain social "ties." Because of these ties the factors of production, especially "labor," are not freely mobile. In part, as a result of this, there may be much population associated with little resources in one sector of an economy and relatively scanty population in relation to resources in another, e.g., the Southern states vs. New England. The net movement of population in the 1920-1930 period, for example, was greater from the less prosperous farm areas but was hardly sufficient to remove all the so-called "surplus" population.18

¹⁵ Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn, *Dynamics of Population* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), p. 92.

¹⁶ National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population (Washington, May, 1938), pp. 136 ff.

¹⁷ Black, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁸ For some of the detailed evidence on this point see C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, Rural Migration in the United States, WPA RM XIX (Washington, 1937), especially chap. iv, "Migration and Selected Socio-Economic Factors." What would ordinarily be

VI. SOCIAL FACTORS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC MARGINALITY AND ADJUSTIVE MOBILITY

The preceding discussion raises problems which call for a systematic theoretical treatment of the social factors in migration, comparable in rigor to the economic analysis, which may be taken as a useful point of departure.¹⁹ Limitations of space restrict the following to illustrative suggestions for a general direction of approach.

In the first place, the use of the concept of economic margin to refer to farm populations leads to difficulties not apparent in its application to nonhuman factors of production. If labor were simply another commodity, the problem would be perfectly straightforward. For a given type of agricultural employment, there would be a grade of labor which could not be used, and eventually a grade which could not be utilized in any employment. On the absolute no-use margin, however, the crucial role of social factors becomes clear. Our moral values prescribe that the population which is not utilized in the existing productive structure nevertheless be supported by "subsidies," familial, private, or public. Thus, there may be a social gain from the utilization of such labor, even that which is of zero productivity in relation to cost of subsistence. Aside from the increment to the total volume of goods thus secured, of the use of such labor may serve to channelize activity away from "antisocial" pursuits and to reinforce sentiments of work in the general

regarded as extremely bad economic conditions may not be sufficient to induce mobility among certain groups. (See T. Lynn Smith and Martha Ray Fry, The Population of a Selected "Cut-over" Area in Louisiana, Louisiana AESB 268 [University, January, 1936], p. 29. Only 40 per cent of relief families were willing to move from the area even if they were to be assisted in disposing of their present holdings and in acquiring better farm lands or greater opportunities for work in some other locality.) Another case of the same type is reported by P. Starcs with respect to Latvia. (See "The Problem of Surplus Agricultural Population," International Journal of Agrarian Affairs, I [1939], 82 ff.)

¹⁹ Recognition of some of these factors has become increasingly prevalent over the past decade. Cf. L. C. Gray, "The Social and Economic Implications of the National Land Program," Journal of Farm Economics, XVIII (1936), 267 ff.; Sherman E. Johnson, "Definitions of 'Efficient Farming,'" Land Policy Review, II (1939), 19-21; and Lively and Taeuber, op. cit. The suggestions advanced here are by no means new, but the time now seems ripe to systematize somewhat further the isolated observations which have been made. The pragmatic recognition of a phenomenon and its incorporation into a scientific framework are quite different things.

20 The total product will be increased only to the extent that such labor does not utilize resources which would be of enough greater productivity in other hands to more than cover the cost of maintaining the population in question. That is, the opportunity cost of the resources associated with such labor is the limiting factor in relation to cost of subsistence of the low-grade labor.

population.²¹ It is possible, of course, that this labor will not be utilized because of a felt necessity to maintain a given structure of economic roles or because of conflicts of values in other respects.

As a further illustration, the question may be raised as to what social factors should be considered in relation to the retardation of population mobility such as would equalize returns between farm and nonfarm industries. The following may be mentioned as of importance: First, there are those social values and usages which may be characterized under the phase, "emotional attachment to home, family, and locality." The ties of a strong family system are not to be lightly dismissed as merely "non-rational"; they are still prime factors in much of the behavior of rural people. Second, there are the ties of stable and satisfying group relationships in a familiar neighborhood circle. The local band is still the most universal and permanent social organization beyond the basic family group.²² Third, social status considerations play a part. An independent mountain farmer and an urban ditchdigger may have equivalent incomes in material goods, whereas the social valuations to which they are subject may be quite different under certain conditions. Men have been known to forego considerable amounts of material goods in favor of maintaining a status in a group. Fourth, there may be ignorance of alternative opportunities because of isolation,28 lack of formal education, and the complexity of the modern social order. Fifth, error in appraising opportunities is a factor quite apart from simple lack of knowledge. A sixth factor is lack of skills and knowledges requisite for entrance into other occupations or for engaging in other types of farming. On the same level is a lack of acquaintance with the individuals and groups through which entrance to other lines of employment is mediated.24 Seventh, there may be invest-

²¹ This function is strictly comparable, sociologically, to that of ritual or the application of sanctions to violations of group norms, in so far as these serve to reinforce common sentiments. Cf. Emile Durkheim, On the Division of Labor in Society, tr. G. Simpson (New York: Macmillan, 1934). Similar ideas have been set forth by G. H. Mead and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.

²² Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), pp. 209-230.

²³ It is interesting to note that Black found the disparity between farm wage rates in relation to resources and factory wage rates to be the greater the more isolated the territory. See his article, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Continued migration from an area results in the formation of such "contacts," e.g. the South-North Negro movement or migration from Appalachia to industrial centers.

ments in fixed capital which are not easily or quickly liquidated.25 Eighth, mobility of farm populations sometimes has to occur against formal organizational barriers in the social structure. State and community policies of turning away "undesirable" migrants, corporation labor policies, trade union entrance requirements, and residence requirements for relief eligibility are typical examples. There are also certain group prejudices which may serve as checks to mobility. Ninth, the decision to move or not to move is affected by the evaluation (discount or overappraisal) to which the future in a relatively unknown as over against a familiar situation is subject. The lesser psychological "reality" of a remote versus a near opportunity is a part of this. Finally, many rural populations appear to be characterized by relative fixity of social values, beliefs, and habits growing out of some of the above factors as they operate in the rural setting.26 Many other concrete factors of this type might be mentioned, but these may serve to suggest a general approach. The central point to be emphasized is that it is entirely possible to have a social equilibrium of population under conditions of economic disequilibrium. Thus a higher material return is only one factor in a complex situation. The lack of correspondence between a strictly economic analysis and the concrete facts is not due to error in the analysis, within the limits of its competence, but lies rather in taking a partial analytical scheme as a means of reaching a total explanation. Further progress in the analysis of marginality and migration does not lie in breaking down the lines between economic and sociological analysis but rather in cumulating their analytically separate results. As more variables are taken into account, theory-always developing in the closest touch with empirical research—may be expected to provide an increasingly realistic and systematic guide for policy. The need for continued analytical study of the range of problems touched upon here must be stressed. This is a field in which rural sociology has made substantial and unique contributions which are gradually being recognized. The possibilities for further research are most promising.

²⁵ Production may be carried on in established areas in cases in which such production would not be economically justifiable were the fixed investments not already made. See G. M. Peterson and J. K. Galbraith, "The Concept of Marginal Land," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XIV (1932), 303-304; 307-308.

²⁶ This is of less importance in the case of the younger age groups, characterized by greater psychological flexibility, in which most individual rural-urban migrations occur. A stem-family type of organization, in conjunction with a pattern of values which encourages the breaking-away of the young adult, also is functionally related to the pressures for cityward migration.

The Population of Soviet Russia

N. S. Timasheff*

ABSTRACT

The publication of the preliminary results of the census of January 17, 1939, permits a study of the movements of the population in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the 22 years of its existence. During these years two major demographic catastrophes took place (in 1920-1922 and in 1932-1933), both caused by a speedy and reckless social transformation. Each time the catastrophe was followed by a rapid restoration of the demographic equilibrium due to a relative normalization of social relationships. In both cases the catastrophes were accompanied by an intense rural-urban migration of the population, the first time from cities to villages, the second time in the opposite direction. During the last few years the peasant population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics substantially declined, and the non-peasant rural population substantially increased.

On January 17, 1939, a census was taken in the Soviet Union. As early as in June some preliminary figures were published which showed that 170,467,186 persons were found living in the Union, 55.9 million (32.8%) forming the urban and 114.6 (67.2%) the rural population. This seems to be a good opportunity for the study of the movements of the population in the vast country subjected to an unprecedented social experiment.

The census of 1939 was preceded by another one taken on January 6, 1937. The findings of this census never were and never will be published; for in September, 1937, it was officially announced that the census had been disrupted by the activity of counter-revolutionary and Trotskyist wreckers.² A few important figures, however, were disclosed by Molotoff at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party in March, 1939. He gave to understand that, in 1937, the population of the Soviet Union was 164.2 million, of whom 49.7 million lived in towns.

The official rejection of the figures of the census of 1937 forces us to investigate the reliability of the data collected both in 1937 and 1939. The comparison of the instructions given to the census takers in 1937 and 1939 shows the elements in the findings of the first census which

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¹ Izvestia, June 2, 1939.

² Izvestia, September 26, 1937; cf. Population Index, IV, No. 1 (1938), 4-5.

were disappointing to the ruling group. First, in contrast to 1937, no question was asked in 1939 concerning the religious conviction of the population; this is, however, of no importance for the objects of this study. Second, in contradistinction to 1937, in 1939 not only the actual population but also those persons who usually resided at a certain place but were absent the day of the census were to be counted by the census takers. This points to an important element in the situation, namely, that it was assumed that by eliminating persons of the mentioned category the wreckers of 1937 succeeded in obtaining an incredibly low figure of population.³ The disappointment of the rulers must indeed have been great: as early as in 1935, the population of the Soviet Union was estimated at about 168 million;⁴ and, according to the tables attached to the Second Five-Year Plan, a population of 180.7 million was expected by December 31, 1937.⁵

The change in the methods of registration of facts did not result in a substantial change in findings: the difference between the figures of 1937 and 1939 can be explained by the actual increase of the population during the two years separating the censuses. It is noteworthy that the difference between the "permanent" and the "actual" population (these are the officially used terms) did not exceed 0.75%. The ruling group could do nothing but recognize that the population was much smaller than had been estimated. Under such circumstances it is probable that the figures published in 1939 were not falsified, but represented actual findings.

Doubts can be expressed concerning the ability of the census takers to competently carry out their task. No definite answer can be given on the subject, but the following information may help one to judge of the situation. A decree of the Council of the People's Commissars of July 26, 1938,⁷ ordered the appointment of enumerators, supervisors, and heads of special census boards to take place during the months of

³ Cf. Vlast Sovietov, August, 1938, p. 10.

⁴ Molotoff, Pravda, January 29, 1935.

⁵ The Second Five-Year Plan (Moscow, 1934), I, 411. (In Russian.)

⁶ Sautin, *Partitionye Stroitelstvo*, 1939, No. 12. In 1897, when a census was taken in Imperial Russia, the discrepancy was about 4%; this testifies to a decreased horizontal mobility of the population in modern Russia as compared to the prerevolutionary situation.

⁷ Published in *Izvestia*, July 27, 1938. Additional rules were decreed by the Central Statistical Board and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars; cf. *Vlast Sovietov*, August, 1938, pp. 10-12.

August and September. The personnel was to be trained till December 31, 1938. Enumerators, to be chosen from among teachers, students of higher educational institutions, bookkeepers, and the like, were to be trained for 16 workdays in urban areas and for 22 days in rural areas. The corresponding figures were 29 and 34 days for supervisors and 45 and 60 days for heads and assistant heads of the census offices. All census takers had to pass examinations supervised by representatives of the permanent statistical boards and of local authorities, and it was stated that no one would be permitted to participate in the census taking who had not shown a complete understanding of its technique. The number of census takers was about one million. The census was made the object of a "campaign." For a few weeks before the date of January 17, all Soviet papers published numerous articles on the subject, and it was frequently discussed at public meetings. The questions were not many⁸ and were clearly put.

The figures for 1937 and 1939 having been found sufficiently reliable, their comparison with earlier figures can be undertaken. In order to help the reader to follow the argument, all the basic figures discussed later in this paper will be presented in the following table.

TABLE 1
POPULATION IN MILLIONS

Date	Type of Enumerator	Total	Urban	Rural	Per Cent Kural Population
1897, February 8	Census	106.0	12.2	93.8	88.5
1914, January 1	Estimate	138.1	25.4	112.7	81.6
1917, January 1	Estimate	140.2	30.4	109.8	78.3
1920, August 26	Partial Census	134.2-134.5	19.7	114.5-114.8	85.3
1923, January 1	Estimate	135.9	21.7	114.2	84.0
1926, December 17	Census	147.0	26.3	120.7	82.6
1932, January 1	Estimate	163.2	35.6	127.6	78.2
1934, January 1	Estimate	159.0	No Data	No Data	No Data
1937, January 6	Census	164.2	49.7	114.5	69.8
1939, January 17	Census	170.5	55.9	114.6	67.2

The table shows that the last (and the only complete) census in Imperial Russia, which took place on February 8, 1897, showed a population of 106.0 million within the territory occupied by the Soviet

⁸ 14 in 1937, 16 in 1939; the additional questions concerned the relation to the head of the family, permanent residence and the duration of the absence from it, if any.

Union on September 1, 1939; 12.2 million (11.5%) lived in towns and 93.8 million (88.5%) in rural districts. 10

Seventeen years later, on January 1, 1914, i.e., just before the World War, the estimated population was 138.1 million (18.4% urban and 81.6% rural). This meant a yearly (geometric) increase rate of 16 per thousand; for the last three years before the war this rate was 20.0, 18.9, and 18.3 per thousand, respectively.

War resulted in a substantial decline in the rate of increase. On January 1, 1917, the estimated population of Russia was only 1.5% greater than in 1914, or equal to 140.2 million. Had the trend of the previous years continued, a population of 145 million could have been expected. The difference of about 5 million can be only partly explained by the direct loss of lives at the front. Another important demographic phenomenon was apparent: the percentage of the urban population suddenly rose to 21.7%, a figure which represented a peak for many years to come; the sudden accumulation of people in cities certainly played an important part in the outbreak and success of the revolution of 1917.

During the following years Russia was in the throes of a civil war and went through all the hardships of a speedy and reckless social transformation. A partial census, taken on August 28, 1920, in combination with estimates for those parts of the country where no census was taken, showed a population of 134.2–134.5 million, about six million less than in 1917. This was the demographic cost of the first three years of the revolution, leaving out of consideration the possibility of

^{*} For the years from 1914 to 1926 see Bulletin No. 80 of the Economic Cabinet of S. N. Prokopovicz (Prague, 1931). Important additions and corrections can be found in V. P. Timoshenko, Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem, Stanford University, 1932, pp. 18 ff. Cf. also E. Z. Volkov, The Dynamics of the Population of the USSR (Moscow, 1930). (In Russian.)

¹⁰ Here and later on the term "town" is used in the meaning established by the Central Statistical Board when publishing the results of the census of 1897. Included are areas officially so termed (in Russia, both Imperial and Soviet, the administrative organization of towns and villages differs, and therefore an official distribution of areas is necessary) and areas of well expressed urban character adhering to them. This has been in gross lines the procedure of Soviet statisticians also, with an exception concerning a special urban census of March 15, 1923, the results of which have therefore not been used in this paper. Under the Provisional and the Soviet governments numerous areas have been shifted from the rural to the urban class. This usually took place in recognition of the actual transformation of corresponding areas. A complete and illuminating study of the question may be found in Volkov, op. cit., pp. 201-206 and 239-242.

¹¹ They are estimated by different authors at between 528 and 775 thousand. Cf. Volkov, op. cit., p. 52.

an increase proved both by earlier and later facts. The census disclosed a reversed migration movement of the population: only 14.7% were found to be living in towns, a percentage substantially smaller than in 1914. It is obvious that during the acute revolutionary period many people hoped to find refuge in rural districts, where the Communist methods of administration were applied in a less drastic manner than in the cities.

The figures for 1920 did not coincide with the peak of the crisis engendered by the Communist experiment. As result of the decrease of sowing areas, crops, and cattle¹² a famine broke out in 1921 during which, according to official figures, about five million persons died from starvation and epidemics.18 The famine, however, did not strike the whole area of Russia or even its greater part. In some sections of the country the situation greatly improved from March 15, 1921, when the First Communist experiment was abandoned in favor of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which created much more favorable conditions of life. The ascending trend was resumed in many parts of the country,14 and this compensated for the losses mentioned above; the population of Russia, on January 1, 1923, may be soundly estimated as equal to 135.9 million.15 However, the population would have been around 150 million, if the prewar rate of increase had been resumed about the end of the World War. The difference of about 14 million can be considered the approximate cost of the revolution.

The next few years were characterized by a very high rate of increase of the population; it was 19.4 per thousand in 1924, 20.4 in 1925, and 22.7 in 1926. The census of December 17, 1926, showed a population of 147,027,915, of whom 26,314,114 (17.4%) lived in towns and 120,713,801 (82.6%) in rural districts. This total substantially surpassed that of prerevolutionary years, but the process of urbanization lagged behind prerevolutionary progress; the percentage of the urban population did not reach that of 1914, not to mention that of the abnormal 1917 figure.

¹² Cf. N. S. Timasheff, "Structural Changes in Rural Russia," RURAL SOCIOLOGY, II (March, 1937), 15-16.

¹⁸ Bulletin of the Central Statistical Board No. 72, p. 91. (In Russian.)

The bulletin of Professor Prokopovicz (No. 80) gives an estimate of 131.7 million on January 1, 1922; this is certainly too low as compared with the well substantiated figure for awary 1, 1923 (see below).

¹⁶ This is a figure derived from that of the census of 1926, with due regard to the rate of increase during the years 1923-1926. According to a careful study by Volkov (op. cit., p. 201), at that time the urban population formed about 16% of the total.

The extraordinary speed of increase can be explained as follows: First, the consecutive disturbances of the World War, the Civil War, and the famine created a large vacuum which permitted a rapid increase of the population, without providing for *new* means of existence. Second, during the years of the New Economic Policy, ¹⁶ the social structure of rural Russia was molded according to the pattern of the *mir*, or agrarian community, ¹⁷ which, other things being equal, encourages a fast increase of the rural population. According to the *mir* principle, land is periodically redistributed among the homesteads in proportion to the number of members of the family or of adult male workers, so that the increase in the size of the family engenders the expectation of obtaining more land at the next redistribution. ¹⁸

The census of 1926 was taken a short time before the trend reversed. In 1927, the increase of the population was 21.7 per thousand and in 1928, 24.0; it dropped to 21.1 per thousand in 1929, 19.0 in 1930, and 17.1 in 1931. The point of saturation seemed to have been reached. Moreover, at that time the New Economic Policy was abandoned and the Second Communist experiment was begun, one of the principal elements of which—the collectivization of farming—resulted in the decline of crops and of cattle similar to that of the later years of the First Communist experiment. ²⁰

The population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, calculated in accordance with the above quoted figures, was about 163.2 million on January 1, 1932. For the following years reliable data concerning the movement of the population are almost completely lacking. However, there is sufficient evidence to show that during the following two years a demographic catastrophe took place which was for a long time denied by official sources. In 1933 a number of foreign correspondents published reports on the famine which they could observe. The series was opened by the *Manchester Guardian* in March, 1933. In April, Gareth Jones described the famine in the *Daily Express*. In June, Mugge-

17 Cf. Timasheff, op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁶ As well as during the period of War Communism.

¹⁸ The *mir* structure which predominated in rural Russia up to 1906 (when the first of the Stolypin's agrarian laws was enacted) was partly responsible for the quick increase of the rural population out of proportion with the advance of agricultural production. The relative gradual decrease of agricultural production and of rural consu 1 per capita was one of the basic factors in the situation which led to the revolutions 1905 and 1917.

¹⁹ USSR for 15 Years, pp. 211-212. (In Russian.) Figures are at variance with those contained in *Population Index*, V, No. 1 (1939), 6.

²⁰ Cf. Timasheff, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

ridge gave in the Morning Post his observations regarding the famine in the Ukraine and in the Northern Caucasus; he wrote that he had seen almost deserted villages, whose inhabitants had died from hunger. On September 15, Duranty informed the readers of the New York Times that the mortality in the Ukraine had at least trebled because of food shortage.²¹ In October, 1933, Lang, correspondent of Forward,²² testified that large sections of Russia visited by him had suffered from a terrible famine.²³

The famine was at first denied by the Communist government, but on December 5, 1935, a significant article appeared in the *Pravda*. It concerned the Don and Kuban districts, which are numbered among the granaries of Russia, and contained the following sentence: "The wickedness of the class enemy reached such a point that many kulaks concealed thousands of puds²⁴ of grain and let themselves and their children die of starvation." The story itself is quite incredible but permits the inference that in 1933 there actually were famine and starvation in the richest parts of Russia. The same article, in addition, contains the following statement: "In the spring of 1933, active members of the collective farms had to carry on their own backs millions of puds of seed, as most of the horses and oxen had died and those who remained alive were unable to work." This certainly means that famine was not voluntarily self-imposed by kulaks but affected the entire population, which was unable to preserve its basic capital—cattle.

The actual number of hunger deaths in 1933 cannot be computed. However, the population of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on January 1, 1934, can be estimated at about 159 million, this figure being derived from that of the census of 1937. The difference between the actual population in the beginning of 1934 and a figure of 167.8 million, which would have been reached if only the prewar rate of increase had governed the population movement, shows that the demographic price of the Second Communist experiment was about eight million human lives. Still larger was the discrepancy between the actual increase of the population and the expectations of the Second Five-Year Plan, which, up to 1937, were officially considered as having been attained.

²¹ New York Times, September 16, 1933.

²² Published in Yiddish in New York.

²⁸ Evidence concerning the famine of 1932-1933 has been collected by E. Ammende, Muss Russland Hungern (Wien, 1935).

²⁴ One pud is equal to 36.16 pounds avoirdupois.

When Communist methods began to be mitigated, the situation gradually improved, and the upward movement of the population was resumed. The following information may be used in order to establish the facts related to the movement of the population for the years 1934-1938.

Stalin, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, said that in 1937 the birth rate was 36 per thousand per year. He also said that the mortality was 40% lower in 1937 than before the War; this gives a mortality figure of 17.2 per thousand and an increase rate of population of 18.8 per thousand. Further, it was stated²⁵ that, after the decree of June 27, 1936, which prohibited abortion, the birth rate increased 33.7%; this establishes a yearly birth rate, before the decree, of 27.0 per thousand.²⁶ It is also known that in 1935, the mortality rate was 16.3 per thousand.²⁷ Assuming that the corresponding figures are correct for the years 1934-1936, we reach a natural increase rate of 10.9 per thousand, which is much smaller than that for the years 1924-1932. The process of recovery after the famine of 1932-1933 seems to have been much slower than that after the famine of 1921-1922.

In this way were obtained the population figures for the years 1937 and 1939 which were mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Unfortunately the data available do not permit the exact reconstruction of the dynamics of the rural and urban population. The following statements, however, may be made.²⁸

One hundred and twenty and seven-tenths million persons lived in rural areas in 1926; only 114.6 million were registered there in 1939. However, the status of certain rural areas, inhabited in 1926 by 4 million, had been changed to that of urban, so that actually, in 1939, 114.6 million lived in the area in which 116.7 million were registered in 1926. To a large extent the decrease of the rural population must be explained by migration to urban districts. In 1939, 18.5 million were found in towns who, in 1926, had lived in rural districts. The decrease in rural population is only 4 million, if the years 1926 and 1939 are compared. However, the peak of the rural population was reached in the beginning of 1931, when 128.5 million lived outside of towns, and this despite the fact that during the years 1927-1930 5.1 million had

²⁵ Izvestia, June 27, 1939.

²⁶ The enactment of this decree can be explained by the fact that the government finally had become aware of the tremendous discrepancy between its demographic expectations and actuality.

²⁷ Planovoye Khoziaistvo, 1936, No. 12, p. 24.

²⁸ Cf. Prokopovicz, Bulletin No. 139 (Prague, 1937).

already migrated to towns or were added to the urban population because of administrative changes.²⁹

During the years 1931-1936 the rural population decreased from 128.5 million to 114.5 million. The migration figures are available only for the first five years of the mentioned period; their sum total is 12.6 million. There is some reason to believe that the speed of the process was the same in 1936; this gives a sum total of 15.1 million during 6 years. The comparison of the figures concerning migration and the decrease of the rural population shows that there was almost no natural increase of the rural population in the years 1931-1936. In 1937 and 1938 the rural population remained stable, for the entire natural increase was absorbed by the migration to towns. How large the natural increase was can only be estimated. The surface of the rural population in the years 1931-1936 in 1937 and 1938 the rural population remained stable, for the entire natural increase was can only be estimated.

Still another process may be observed in rural areas, especially in 1932-1937, and that is a rapid decline of the peasant population. This decline can be deduced from the continuous decrease in the number of homesteads or families, the average membership of which hardly could have increased.³² If we assume that the figure for 1932, which was 4.8 members per rural family, continued to be correct up to 1937, the following table may be drawn up:³³

TABLE 2
DECLINE OF THE PEASANT POPULATION

Date	Number of Homesteads (Thousands)	Peasunt Poplaution (Millions)
June 1, 1932	24,483	117.5
June 1, 1933	23,620	113.8
July 1, 1934	22,012	105.7
June 1, 1935	20,834	100.0
June 1, 1936	20,414	98.0
April 1, 1937	19,930	95.7

²⁹ Yearly figures are available for the years 1928-1930; they were respectively (in millions): 1.06, 1.39, 2.63.

³⁰ The yearly distribution was: 4.1, 2.7, 0.8, 2.5, and 2.5 million, respectively. The low figure for 1933 can be explained by the decree of December 27, 1932, which introduced the system of passports and of special permits for entering the cities; as is the case of many other decrees, this one was enforced for some time and then actually disregarded. The decree testifies to a strong pressure on towns by rural residents who were fleeing the drastic application of Communist methods in the villages.

³¹ An approximate calculation of the increase of the urban population (see below) would leave about 4.5 million for the natural increase of the rural population; this would correspond to a natural increase rate of about 20 per thousand yearly.

⁸² More probable would have been a decrease in the average because of the migration process mentioned above. According to S. N. Prokopovicz, in *Quarterly Bulletin of Soviet Russian Economics*, No. 1-2 (Geneva, 1939), p. 59, the average size of a kolhoz family is now 4.22 persons.

38 The process seems to have stopped in 1937, for, in 1938, there were again 20,153 thousand homesteads in the USSR. Cf. Prokopovicz, Quarterly Bulletin, p. 29.

How can this decrease be explained? Professor Prokopovicz³⁴ explained it entirely by the demographic catastrophe of the years 1932-1933 which, in his opinion, continued during the next few years; he thus arrived at the conclusion that, in 1937, the rural population was only 106 million. However, this is only one of the possible explanations. There is another and more plausible one. The non-peasant rural population, which was about 10.2 million in 1932, could have increased up to 18 million in 1937 as the result of a partial industrialization of rural areas³⁵ and of the increase in the number of Soviet officers, of persons active in public services (education, medicine, and the like), and of workers of machine and tractor stations. The decrease of the peasant population, correlated to the overpopulation of Russian rural areas making for endemic disguised unemployment, ³⁶ could, therefore, be considered as a process of positive social value, all reservation being made in regard to the methods applied to reach this improvement.

The urban population has more than doubled from 1926 to 1939.87

³⁴ Bulletin No. 139 (Prague, 1937), published before any figures concerning the census of 1937 became available. (The error has been recognized by Prokopovicz, Quarterly Bulletin, No. 4 [Geneva, 1940], p. 112.)

³⁵ In 1936, the Communist government decided not to permit any further expansion of industry in Moscow and Leningrad—a striking counterpart to the legislation of Fascist Italy! In 1939, this decision was confirmed and expanded by the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party (*Pravda*, March 21, 1939).

36 C. Clark, A Critique of Russian Statistics (London, 1939), pp. 51-53.

³⁷ The process of urbanization has taken place in Soviet Russia under quite different conditions than in Western Europe and the United States. It was a function of industrialization ordered by the government and carried out according to the Five-Year Plans, not freely effected by the population. Thus, in many cases the new urban population consisting of workers and employees of new plants and mills had to live in quite abnormal conditions. The following figures, borrowed from Prokopovicz, Quarterly Bulletin, No. 1-2, p. 56, are enlightening:

	Dwelling Space in Towns		
	Total (In millions square meters)	Per Person (In square meters)	
1923	127.8	5.8	
1928	160.0	5.7	
1932	185.1	4.7	
1937	211.9	4.0	

At the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party, Molotoff recognized that the construction of new houses lagged substantially behind the plan, and promised the creation of 45 million square meters of new dwelling space during the Third Five-Year Plan (January 1, 1937-December 31, 1941); of these 10 million were expected to be created by individual (private) owners. In the resolutions of the Congress no mention was made of this last portion, and the promise was restricted to 35 million (*Pravda*, March 16 and 21, 1939).

The increase was the result of the cooperation of three factors: (1) migration from rural areas, 18.5 million; (2) administrative transformation, 5.8 million; and (3) natural increase, 5.3 million.³⁸

A distribution of these figures among individual years is unfortunately impossible, but the following are of interest. In 1932, the urban population was 35.6 million or 9.3 million larger than that shown by the census of 1926; but almost the same number of people (9.2 million) migrated to towns during the preceding 6 years. This means that there was no natural increase of the urban population during the mentioned years, and this can be very well explained by the hardships of the years of the Second Communist experiment and by the high mortality among immigrants from rural districts.

During the years 1932-1936 the urban population increased by 14.7 million, and during the years 1937-1938 it again increased by 6.2 million. During the last named years the natural increase was probably 1.7 million, and the migration process gave the additional 4.5 million; the atural increase rate was therefore approximately 17 per thousand yearly, a figure which is indirectly corroborated by official statements.

The general conclusions of this study may be formulated as follows:

- 1. During the 22-year period of its existence the Soviet State was twice subjected to demographic catastrophes.
- 2. Each time the catastrophe was followed by a rapid restoration of the demographic equilibrium, though the speed of the process was not as great the second time as the first.
- 3. In both cases the catastrophes were accompanied by migration of the population away from areas where Communism was applied with greater intensity to areas where the application was less intense.
- 4. The later years of the period studied were characterized by a partial improvement in the abnormal demographic situation in rural Russia.

³⁸ The figure concerning administrative transformation is higher than that of 4 million mentioned above in regard to rural districts transformed into urban ones. The difference can be explained by natural increase and by additional migration from villages after the administrative transformation. The figure concerning natural increase is obviously too high. There was only an insignificant natural increase of the urban population in 1927-1929, which was followed by a decrease in 1930-1931 (cf. Prokopovicz, *Bulletin No. 139*); the decrease probably continued in 1932-1933; the increase could have been resumed only in 1934; and quite incredible rates would have been necessary to produce a total increase of 5.3 million in 5 years.

Rural-Urban Aspects of Adult Probation in Wisconsin†

John L. Gillin* and Reuben L. Hill**

ABSTRACT

The paper is one chapter from a larger study called "Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin." The problem is to compare the behavior of rural-farm probationers, rural-nonfarm probationers, and urban-nonfarm probationers with respect to certain traits in their history. These traits were age of conviction, factors in the family background, factors associated with the circumstances and conditions of the crime and of the trial, crime for which convicted, length of sentence, and period on probation. Rural-farm and urban-nonfarm differ most strikingly in their behavior on probation. The critical ratio of the standard error of difference to the actual difference between their mean violation rates was 6.8.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is one chapter from a larger study called Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin. Our main problem in the study was to test the relationship of factors in the life histories of adult probationers both before and during the probation period to their outcome on probation. Two factors which we tested showed themselves to be of real importance in this respect. They were: (1) the size and type of community in which living at the time of conviction and (2) the usual occupation of the probationer. Probationers who were farmers by occupation showed a lower violation rate than others. Probationers who lived in the open country or in the villages under 1,000 population had a lower violation rate than probationers in the more urban centers. Probationers, too, who were residents of highly rural counties had a lower violation rate than probationers from more urban counties. This situation suggested the need for a more detailed analysis of these differentiated strata in the probation population.

[†] The study on which this paper is based was financed by a grant-in-aid from the University of Wisconsin Research Committee. A report of the entire study will be found in the University of Wisconsin Library. See Reuben L. Hill, Jr., Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin, Ph.D. Thesis, 1938.

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The original study comprised 2,819 male adult probation cases closed by the Wisconsin State Board of Control in the years 1933, 1934, and 1935. However, for this particular analysis the population has been divided into three residential-occupational strata: (1) rural-farm probationers,¹ (2) rural-nonfarm probationers,² and (3) urban-nonfarm probationers.³

This breakdown eliminated for the sake of homogeneity migrants during the probation period from the city to the rural areas, or from rural areas to the cities. It eliminated individuals in urban areas who farmed. It failed to eliminate those individuals who had migrated to the city or to the country shortly before committing the crime for which they had been put on probation.

The three groups chosen for contrast were still large enough after the paring they received to insure stability as to numbers. There were 574 probationers in the rural-farm group, of which 13.6 per cent violated probation. There were 1,127 probationers in the urban-nonfarm group, of which 18.4 per cent violated probation. There were 559 in the rural-nonfarm group, of which 15 per cent violated probation.

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problems discussed in this paper revolve about differences in behavior of probationers from the three above mentioned strata of the population. Our problem is not the comparison of the distribution of traits in the three groups, but the comparison of their behavior in respect to these traits while on probation.

Of the twenty-eight factors on which data were originally gathered we have chosen ten to test differences of behavior within our strata. These ten are all either highly associated with outcome of probationers in our study or of special interest in the rural-urban contrasts. They

¹ The probationers in the rural-farm stratum were a highly homogeneous group. They were farmers by occupation both before and during the probationary period, and they lived in areas of under 2,500 population both before and during the probationary period.

² The probationers in the rural-nonfarm stratum were rural by residence, but followed nonfarm vocations.

³ The urban-nonfarm probationers were made up of individuals living in the city following vocations other than farming. The number of urban probationers who farmed was so small that they were not included in the study, hence any reference to urban probationers in this study is to urban-nonfarm probationers.

⁴ For a report summarizing the effect of all twenty-eight factors on the outcome of probationers see John L. Gillin and Reuben L. Hill, "Success and Failure of Adult Probationers in Wisconsin," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. XXX, No. 6 (March-April, 1940).

cover roughly the fields of age at conviction, family background, factors associated with the circumstances and conditions of the crime and trial, and factors associated with the probation period.

AGE AT CONVICTION

Of the three groups the rural-nonfarm probationers are the oldest, with a mean of 32.1 years, the urban-nonfarm next in order with an average of 29.4 years, and the rural-farm youngest at 27.3 years. The rural-farm people are not only the youngest, but also have the lowest violation rate of the three strata.

When each stratum is considered individually, the older probationers appear to be the better risks. The violation rate is higher in the younger than in the older age groups in all three strata. It is when the three strata are compared, one with another, that the influence of age appears to have less effect upon the rural probationers. The rural-farm people are youngest but still have the lowest violation rate. The urban probationers are next in age and have the highest violation rate. Evidently the rural "way of life" modifies the rigors of probation in the rural-farm stratum in such a way that the violation rates are lowered for members of that group.

FACTORS IN THE FAMILY BACKGROUND

A measure of the family configuration is the *number of siblings in* the family. How is this configuration related to the outcome within our three strata?

The rural-farm group had the most sibs, with a median of 5.36 siblings per family; the rural-nonfarm next, with 4.45; and the urban smallest, with 4.22. The rural-farm families have only 5.9 per cent of their number with only one sibling, while 14.9 per cent have "9 or more" siblings per family. Both the urban and the rural-nonfarm have fewer siblings, each with only 7.0 per cent in the "9 or more" group.

The hypothesis that the only child is handicapped shows up especially in the rural-farm group, which has a much higher violation rate than the rural-nonfarm in this one child family group. Actually "one sib" families are deviates from the normal in rural-farm areas, although common in the urban. It might be logical therefore to expect abnormal behavior from individuals coming from this size of family in rural-farm regions. The families with two siblings, however, have much lower

violation rates in the rural-farm than in the urban group. This is also true of the families with four siblings.

It is difficult to draw any definite conclusions for this factor, although there is a decided, even if erratic, decline in the violation rate for all groups as the size of the family increases.

It is relevant to our problem to measure the relationship of the broken home at time of conviction to outcome on probation within our three strata. First of all, the rural-farm homes are less frequently broken. The violation rate is also much lower in the unbroken rural-farm home than in the unbroken urban and rural-nonfarm homes. The proportion of the homes in which parents were divorced is lower in the rural-farm than in the urban, but the difference in violation rates is not great. In all cases of the broken home the differences in behavior between ruralfarm and urban, between rural-farm and rural-nonfarm, and between rural-nonfarm and urban were not large. The violation rates do not fluctuate with the broken home quite as much in the rural-farm stratum as in the other two strata. It is hard to explain such a situation with the limited data at hand. Is it less serious to have the home broken in the rural-farm area? Are the children not as likely to be mistreated or sent to institutions? Does the Greater Family take over the duties of the estranged or separated parents? Future studies might clear up these questions.

The marital status of our three strata differs to a greater extent than the other factors we have considered. There are more single probationers in the rural-farm, 67.3 per cent, as compared to 45.5 per cent and 46.5 per cent for the urban and rural-nonfarm. The rural-farm probationers are less divorced, less separated, and less married when considered as a percentage of the total group. In spite of this bulking in the unmarried category, the rural-farm has a lower violation rate in this category than the urban. The violation rates of the married among the rural-farm were lower than among the urban. Of the separated and the divorced, the rural-farm is lower in violation rate than the urban or the rural-nonfarm. The very low rates of violation by separated and divorced rural-farm probationers are surprising. Does the concept of primary group controls operating in rural areas offer an explanation? Marital status evidently does not weigh as heavily as other factors in the rural farm sphere in determining outcome on probation.

Does the number of children dependent on the probationer have any relation to outcome on probation? Members of the rural-nonfarm group

have the highest median number of dependent children, 2.16. But this group was composed of the oldest. The rural-farm probationers follow with 1.95, and the urban with 1.84. Rural-farm probationers with no dependent children have a lower violation rate than the urban. There is a much lower violation rate for those probationers who have "one dependent child" in the rural-farm group than in the urban or the ruralnonfarm groups. The lower violation rates in the rural-farm group for the categories in which sharp differences occurred might be explained by the influence of primary group controls over newly married folk in rural-farm areas, making desertions less likely. Another explanation might be the rural family pattern of bringing newly married folk into the homes of their parents when times are hard. In such a situation absconding because of difficulty in supporting dependents would be less likely in the rural-farm groups. Such a theory is given some weight by our findings of a much lower violation rate for probationers who are sentenced for nonsupport in rural-farm areas than in the urban and rural-nonfarm areas.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONDITIONS OF THE CRIME AND TRIAL

The Gluecks's insist that the most important single factor in the study of criminal behavior for predicting parole outcome is the record of previous arrests, incarcerations, convictions, and penal experiences. "Once a criminal, always a criminal," is their thesis. One would naturally suppose that such pessimism need not enter into a study of probation since so-called confirmed criminals are not as a rule put on probation. The Glueck thesis is worth testing, however, to see: (1) how our strata differ as to previous criminal records, (2) how they differ in behavior on probation in reference to their previous criminal record.

First, let us consider the relative previous criminal experience of the three groups. We find a much higher proportion of our rural-farm probationers with no previous criminal record than the other two groups. As for previous arrests for minor offenses the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm probationers are both lower than their urban fellows. Previous arrests for serious offenses are also less frequent among the rural-farm than among the urban probationers. The rural-farm group is clearly the least experienced of the three in contacts with the police. Could it be due to lax policing in rural farm areas? Is it not possible, too,

⁵ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck, 500 Criminal Careers (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930).

that neighbors settle small infractions of the law among themselves rather than carry them to police authorities for action?

Of the probationers with no criminal record the rural-nonfarm had a much lower violation rate than the rural-farm and a somewhat lower violation rate than the urban (rural-nonfarm 9.1 per cent, rural-farm 11.28 per cent, and urban 12.56 per cent). Differences within all other categories were small. In all three groups, however, the violation rate increased with the frequency of previous criminal experience, which forces us to conclude that the Glueck thesis holds true for probation as well as for parole.

VIOLATION ACCORDING TO CRIME FOR WHICH CONVICTED

A high proportion of our rural-farm people were convicted of *lar-ceny*. This may be partially explained by the fact that such crimes as larceny of chickens, domestic animals, grain, and other foodstuffs are highly probationable. The violation rate, however, is lower for the rural-farm probationers convicted of this crime.

Burglary bulks high in the rural-farm area. It is entirely possible that these burglaries were committed in town, however, since burglary is not a typical rural crime. The violation rate for probationers convicted of this crime is much lower in both the rural-farm and the rural-non-farm than in the urban group.

Those guilty of fraud and forgery have surprisingly high violation rates in the rural and urban areas as compared to the rural-nonfarm. Sex offenders, on the other hand, have a high violation rate in the rural-nonfarm group as compared to those in the rural-farm and urban groups. This may be a result of the relatively lax moral control in rural-nonfarm areas, reference to which is made in the quip, "God made the country, man the city, but the Devil made the little country town." This is a question which should receive more attention from students of rural life!

Conviction for *nonsupport* is low among the rural-farm probationers but high among the rural-nonfarm people, all of which lends support to the findings of rural sociologists that the rural-nonfarm is a problem group economically. It is given further weight in the much higher violation rate of those convicted of this crime in the rural-nonfarm as compared with the rural-farm group. If the rural family patterns act to keep nonsupport at a minimum in rural areas, it does not carry over into the rural-nonfarm way of life in our cases.

Convictions for *drunkenness* amount to only 2.4 per cent of the total rural-farm probationers in our sample, as compared with 9.9 per cent in the urban sample. However, this may well be due to the purported tendency of town marshalls to regard drunkenness in a more lenient way than the city police. The violation rates of probationers convicted for drunkenness are low in all three strata.

VIOLATIONS AND LENGTH OF SENTENCE

The rural-farm probationers received a slightly higher average sentence; the median is 23.75 months, compared with 22.7 months for the urban and 22.5 months for the rural-nonfarm. The dispersion about these medians as measured by the average deviation is greater in the case of the urban than in the other two groups (A.D. urban 8.1, rural-farm 7.8, and rural-nonfarm 6.4). Judges appear to have been fairly consistent in sentencing probationers regardless of the strata from which they came.

The composition of the three strata in terms of the length of maximum sentence does not seem very different. Rural-farm probationers, regardless of the length of maximum sentence, violated probation less frequently than urban probationers.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PERIOD ON PROBATION

In this report two factors dealing with the problems arising during the period on probation have been tested: (1) number of contacts with probation officer per month and (2) changes of residence on probation.

The amount of attention and supervision which an individual probationer receives while on probation may be measured roughly by the number of contacts per month which the probation officer has given him. Does this attention vary in amount from the urban to the rural situation? If so, are the differences significant?

The average number of contacts with probationers per month in the rural-farm areas was 0.92, in rural-nonfarm areas 1.13, and in the urban 1.72. The difference between the means of the rural-farm and the urban groups was 0.8; and the standard error of the difference was .042, which in critical ratio form is 19 S.E.'s, a highly significant difference. The differences between the other two strata were also highly significant:

Mean Urban—Mean Rural-Nonfarm—.59±.046
Mean Rural-Nonfarm—Mean Rural-Farm—.21±.046

The rural-farm group received much less supervision than the urban, and less than the rural-nonfarm, while the rural-nonfarm received less supervision than the urban.

The violation rate of the rural-farm was much lower than the urban in the first two categories, where the visits were low, i.e., 0.0 to 0.4 and 0.5 to 0.9 visits per month. From that point on the violation rates became higher for the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm as the number of visits increased up to three visits a month. While probation officers make regular visits to probationers in urban areas, a man in a rural community must be a more hazardous case to receive more than one visit a month, due to the difficulty of travel in rural areas during part of the year.

It has been suggested that this lack of close supervision accounts for the low violation rates in rural territory, since any violations committed would escape the eye of the probation officer. This is not entirely true, however, since the probation officer is only one of three agencies which detect and report probation violators. Neighbors in rural sections supervise the behavior of miscreants more closely than is done in urban areas and would be more likely to report infractions of the probation agreement.

This analysis shows a differential treatment of rural compared with urban probationers. It demonstrates, finally, that while the violation rates are lower in the rural areas where few visits are made, they become extremely high where the visits exceed one a month.⁶

Another factor in the probation period is "mobility while on probation." Probation officers recognize the necessity of establishing their probationers in employment which will allow them to make friendships in the local community and thus receive outside help in their attempts at self-reform.

Probationers in the rural-farm area made the most moves on the average (0.9). Probationers in the rural-nonfarm follow with 0.83 moves, and probationers in the urban areas are least mobile with 0.76 moves. This high mobility of rural probationers is partially explained by their relative youth. We must not forget that the average age of these rural-farm probationers is about 27 years, and that they are not

⁶ There is obviously no direct causal relationship between intensive supervision and the high violation rates of probationers. The case load of officers is so heavy that most of the intensive work is done with poorly educated probationers who need attention badly but who are the poorest risks.

tied down to the soil with property and families as would be the case for their parents in the same area. They probably participated more fully in the migratory type of farm labor which characterizes a great class of farm work.

The violation rate of probationers in the rural-farm group who did not move while on probation was much lower than the rate of the same group in urban territory. The violation rate increases, but in an erratic way, in all three groups as the number of moves increases.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Age at conviction differs in its effect on violation rates from stratum to stratum. The "rural way of life" acts as a modifier within age groups in such a way that the violation rates are lowered for members of the rural-farm stratum. Generally, older probationers are better risks than younger men throughout all three strata.

Factors in the family background vary, too, in their effects on the behavior of probationers. There is a decided, even if erratic, decline in the violation rate for all groups as the size of families from which they come increases. The differences between strata are not large. The effect of the broken home on violation rates is to increase them, although the fluctuation is not pronounced in the rural-farm stratum. Marital status is a differentiating factor between the various strata in terms of behavior on probation. Rural-farm probationers have a lower violation rate in every category, especially in the divorce category. The number of dependent children and outcome on probation differ among our strata. Rural-farm probationers have a lower violation rate than the urban, especially in the class with "no dependents," and the class with "one dependent child."

Factors associated with the crime and trial show interesting results. History of previous arrests affected the violation rates adversely in all three groups, but much less so in the rural-farm group. The rural-farm configuration nullifies the compulsive effect of past criminal record for its probationers. The crime for which convicted shows differences in behavior throughout the table when the strata are compared. The high violation rates of sex offenders and nonsupport classes in the rural-nonfarm areas warrant notice. While the composition of the three

⁷ This shows up clearly in reading the case records. It has not been quantified into table form. Examination of these records shows that probation officers move men in rural areas from job to job more frequently than men in urban employment.

strata in terms of the *length of maximum sentence* does not seem very different, the reaction of the probationers, stratum by stratum, is quite different as measured by the violation rates for each sub-category. Generally, the rural-farm probationers, regardless of length of sentence, violated probation less frequently than urban probationers.

Factors associated with the period on probation show considerable discrepancy in the two rural strata as compared with the urban. The amount of supervision is much lower in the rural areas. This table shows that, while the violation rates are lower in the rural areas where few visits are made, they become extremely high where the visits exceed one a month. These differences in violation rates made the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm appear strikingly different from the urban in respect to treatment by the probation officer. Finally the question of mobility on probation and its effect on outcome within the three strata indicate that the violation rate of probationers in the rural-farm group who did not move while on probation was much lower than the same group in the urban territory. The violation rate increases, but in an erratic way, in all three groups as the number of moves increases.

DANGER SPOTS ON PROBATION

Another way of summarizing our findings is to point out those subclasses of our factors which had excessively high violation rates.

We show in a "Summary Table" those groups whose violation rates are higher than might be expected by chance. Our aim was to point out which groups of probationers needed most attention.

We called a subclass a "danger spot" if the violation rate exceeded the mean violation rate by three standard errors. That is a difference which would rarely occur by chance alone. The rural-farm subclasses having violation rates above 13.68 by 3 S.E.'s, or 17.87 per cent, are "danger spots." The rural-nonfarm classes having a violation rate of more than 15.00 by 3 S.E.'s, or 19.3 per cent, are "danger spots." The urban-nonfarm classes having a violation rate above 18.4 by 3 S.E.'s, or 21.85 per cent, are "danger spots." The summary table lists the results tabulated by strata and raises many interesting questions:

- (1) Why should the rural-farm stratum have only fifteen "danger spots" while the rural-nonfarm and the urban-nonfarm have as high as twenty-one and twenty-two?
- (2) Why are probationers 30-34 years of age a problem age group in the two strata? Are they not mature?

SUMMARY TABLE

DANGER SPOTS ON PROBATION

(A List of Subclasses in Which the Violation Rates of Probationers Were Significantly Higher Than the Stratum Violation Rate, Tabulated by Social-Occupational Strata, Rural-Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Urban-Nonfarm)

Factor	Rural-Farm	Rural-Nonfarm	Urban-Nonfarm	
Age	30-34 years	15 and under 30-34 years	16-19 years 25-29 years	
Number of Siblings	No sibs One sib Three sibs	One sib	 Two sibs	
Home Conditions	Parents divorced Mother dead	Parents separated Parents divorced	Parents separated Parents divorced	
Marital Status	_	Separated Divorced	Separated Divorced	
Number Dependent Children	=	Four Seven Eight	Ξ	
Previous Criminal Record	One or Two Serious Offenses	Minor Offenses One or Two Serious Offenses Three or More Serious Offenses	Minor Offenses One or Two Serious Offenses Three or More Serious Offenses	
Crime for Which Convicted	Fraud and Forgery Operating Auto Without Owners' Consent	Operating Auto Without Owners' Consent Sex Offenses	Robbery Burglary Fraud and Forgery Operating Auto Without Owners' Consent	
Length of Maximum Sentence	15-20.9 months — 45-50.9 months	15-20.9 months 45-50.9 months 57-62.9 months 63 months and over	33-38.9 months 45-50.9 months 63 months and over	
Changes of Residence on Probation	Four Five Six and over	Four	Four Five Six and over	
TOTAL DANGER SPOTS	15	21	22	



- (3) Note the consistently high violation rate of individuals from divorced homes. If this indicates an uncongenial atmosphere while on probation, this "danger spot" should receive attention by probation officers in placement.
- (4) Note the consistently high violation rate of individuals convicted of auto theft, "Operating Auto Without Owner's Consent."
- (5) Mobility on probation should be pointed out to the probation officer as a source of danger in all three strata. Probationers should be placed more carefully to take root in a community.8

BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RURAL-FARM, RURAL-NONFARM, AND URBAN-NONFARM

That there are basic differences in behavior between people living in rural and urban areas is generally recognized. In probation that is accentuated by our method of contrasting the rural-farm with the urban-nonfarm as to outcome on probation. These two strata differ significantly in behavior on probation. The critical ratio of the standard error of difference to the actual difference between their mean violation rates is 6.8, which is highly significant. Furthermore the two strata differed in behavior on almost all of the ten factors tested in this study. They should be given consideration, therefore, according to their own unique problems and not treated as parts of a homogeneous unit.

Rural-nonfarm, while representing a different occupational group than the rural-farm, still shows evidence of many similar problems. The mean violation rates of these two strata do not differ significantly. (C.R. = 0.467). The rural-nonfarm is certainly more of a problem group than the rural-farm. It is a question whether or not urban patterns may not be moving over more rapidly than those of the rural-farm into the rural-nonfarm group. Certainly the advantages of the rural family patterns in terms of economic security do not carry over from the rural-farm to the rural-nonfarm, as the high violation rates for nonsupport and dependency of children would prove. The breakdown of the characteristically rural primary group controls in the rural-nonfarm population and the failure of secondary group controls to function probably explain the abnormal behavior of rural-nonfarm probationers

⁸ Probation officers report that widespread unemployment and the type of employers who are willing to take probationers act as complicating factors in placing probationers permanently.

in this connection. Where does the rural-nonfarm belong? With which group are its probationers most highly identified? This study fails to answer the question conclusively.

Our conclusions are that for purposes of generalization and probably for treatment the rural-farm and the urban should be regarded as separate problems. More study should be made of the rural-nonfarm population to determine with which group it should be identified or whether, indeed, it should be treated as a separate stratum by itself.

Note.—Mimeographed tables of data on which this paper is based may be obtained by sending 6c for postage to Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Jewish Agricultural Colonization in Palestine: A Sociological Experiment in Collectivism

Joseph Wechsler Eaton*

ABSTRACT

From every corner of the globe Jews are coming to Palestine to find liberty and security in their ancient homeland. Inspired by the ideals of Zionism, they have founded about 250 villages on lands that for hundreds of years had been barren deserts or malaria-ridden swamps. This Jewish agricultural colonization by city-bred traders and professionals constitutes a large-scale social experiment in collectivism. About a third of these Jewish colonies are collectives, with a communal household and without private property. Another third are cooperatives, with individual management of farms but cooperative buying and selling of goods. The rest are settlements of fully independent farmers. Together they offer an opportunity to study the possibility and problems of a collective society created by voluntary action without any governmental compulsion. They are an experiment in the establishment of a new democratic social system, which attempts to more adequately adjust our society to its complex technology.

INTRODUCTION1

More than ever before it is clear today that new social forms must be found to permit mankind to enjoy the fruits of its technical progress. Otherwise, technological advances will mean nothing but greater efficiency of men to destroy each other.

Being among the worst sufferers of the malfunctionings of the world's social systems, the Jewish people are among the most interested in the development of new social forms. In modern Palestine, where the Jews are building a home of security and freedom for those among them who need it most, new social forms of rural life are developing. It is the purpose of this essay to discuss some of the outstanding features of this social experiment.

ZIONISM AND AGRICULTURE

The Zionist Movement, which aims to build a Jewish National Home in Palestine, puts great emphasis on agricultural colonization. It was no accident that its history began with the establishment of the village, Rischon L'Tzion (The First in Zion), in 1878. It was

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¹ Dwight Sanderson, Jacob Golub, I. Hamlin, and Minna Ross gave me valuable help in the preparation of this article through their suggestions and criticisms.

an economic necessity because the Jews could not build cities without farms to supply them with food and to buy the products of their factories. There was also a deep cultural need for Zionism to be a "back to the soil" movement. For centuries the Jews had been forced to live in virtual or actual Ghettos. The old Jewish culture, which had been the product of a rural life, could not develop normally in this disorganizing urban environment. If Jews wanted to produce a cultural renaissance in Palestine, they had to create a new rural environment.

THE MOSHAVAH ("VILLAGE OF INDEPENDENT FARMERS")

Rischon L'Tzion, as well as many other villages that were founded in the first few decades of Zionist colonization, consists of large individual farmsteads, most of which cannot be worked without hired help. The houses are built in a cluster, like most of the villages of Europe. The social structure and organization is similar to that of the average American village. This type of colonization is not encouraged today by the majority of Zionists, although some villages of independent farmers are still being founded. In comparison to other forms of colonization which will be discussed later, the Moshavah has several practical disadvantages.

It is an expensive form of colonization. The area of land needed is large. Each farming unit not only needs its own house and barn, but farm machinery and other equipment as well. Only settlers with considerable capital can afford to farm independently. In view of the fact that today most of the colonists in Palestine have little money, many of them arriving without a penny, and that their settlement must be aided by Jewish National Funds, whose resources—derived from voluntary contributions—are very limited, the Moshavah colonization is neither economical nor efficient.

Few of the immigrants arriving today have enough training in agriculture to manage a farm of their own in Palestine, where conditions are very different from those prevailing anywhere in northern Europe. Some have no farm experience whatsoever, since they had to flee overnight, with no time to prepare themselves for their new way of life.

Most of the settlers have lived in cities all their lives and are used to a rich social life. With limited capital, operating their own farms, they would have to work continuously day after day, especially during the first few years of colonization. They usually could not afford to hire people to do the work for them. Thus they could have little leisure. Under such conditions, the adjustment to the new rural life would be especially difficult.

Colonization in Palestine is similar in many respects to the colonization of the early pioneers in the United States. The settlers in outlying districts, where most of the new villages are established, must frequently defend their lives and property against bandits and terrorists. A community of large farms is not easily defended. Each man, working alone, is often exposed to sniping. Also, in case of illness or disease, the individual farmer has nothing to fall back on except his own resources.

IDEOLOGICAL OBJECTIONS TO THE MOSHAVAH

Besides these practical disadvantages of the *Moshavah*, most Zionists have strong ideological objections to this form of rural community organization. They fear that it will create those class differences between the farm owners and the landless wage proletariat that are a source of serious trouble in many countries. They do not want to build a Jewish National Home that copies the unsuccessful social institutions of Europe.

Many of the settlers in Moshavoth (plural of Moshavah) also employed cheap native labor. Often Arabs from surrounding countries came to Palestine for this very purpose. To build the Jewish National Home with Arab labor was unacceptable to conscientious Zionists. Farms that are merely owned by Jews, but worked by others, would never produce a rural Jewish culture.

If Zionism was to succeed in producing a harmonious and culturally creative Jewish society in Palestine, *new* forms of colonization had to be found. Under the influence of socialist theories, Jewish customs, and the realities of Palestine, certain collective forms of colonization were developed, which may roughly be classed into two main types: *Kvuzoth* ("Collectives") and *Moshavei-Ovdim* ("Cooperatives").

THE KVUTZAH ("COLLECTIVE")

The Kvutzah takes the form of a large plantation, operated on the principle of "from everyone according to his ability and to everyone according to his need." There is no private property, and no wages are paid. All individual needs are met by the common treasury. Oftentimes even elderly parents or younger siblings in Palestine or abroad are supported by the Kvutzah.

Kvuzoth (plural of Kvutzah) vary in size from 25-750 members.

The average size is about 175 members. Each of these must pass through a trial period of one year, primarily because life in a *Kvutzah* differs radically from life outside. The individual must be given time to discover whether its way of life will satisfy him, and the group must get to know him to decide on his adaptability.

Membership turnover varies greatly, from 14 per cent in more recently established groups to 6 per cent in older ones. Three quarters of those who leave have lived in the *Kvuzoth* for less than one year.²

Many Kvuzoth have their origins in Europe, where groups of young people organize their emigration together. They will get training on farms and do other kinds of work to save money for the journey. In Palestine they may be joined by friends who are already there or may merge with an already existing similar group. Other Kvuzoth may be organized in Palestine by various ideological parties.

Before the group can settle on its own land, it has to pass through a period when its members work for wages on farms, in factories, in quarries, and in building industries. All wages are pooled; and most of the members live together on a small piece of land in movable tents and barracks, although some may be employed far away and may live alone. In this period money can be saved, and the group can test itself to see whether the members have enough homogeneity and group spirit to live together for life. Some of these groups are small and later on expect to settle as a Kvutzah. Others are larger (300 and more people) and have intentions to found a Kibbuz. (The Kibbuz has the same collective principles as the Kvutzah, but it includes both agricultural and industrial workers, striving to be as self-sufficient a unit as possible. Some of its members work for wages outside the village but contribute their earnings to the common treasury.)

After a few years, when the group has saved some money, they are supplied with a piece of land bought by the Jewish National Fund. With the help of loans from private or national sources they begin to build their village. At first they may have to live in tents, with a few wooden huts to serve as barn, dining-room, kitchen, and children's house. Then, little by little, stone and concrete structures are built. Later such "luxuries" as libraries, phonograph-record collections, and community buildings can be added.

Dagania, the first Kvutzah to be established in 1908 by a group of

² Figures are from Statistical Bulletins of the Jewish Agricultural Worker's Union, 1937.

Palestinian farm laborers, might serve as an illustrative example. The group was given a plot of land near Lake Tiberias, surrounded by malaria-ridden swamps. Some of its members succumbed to malaria, and others were shot by roving bands of Bedouins. Some had to leave because they could not stand the semi-tropical climate of the Jordan Valley, and others found that they were not suited for collective living. But the group remained.

Today Dagania is one of the most healthful and beautiful spots in the country. There are comfortable living quarters for married couples as well as dormitories for unmarried men and women. The children live in modern houses and have a well-equipped school and kindergarten. The kitchen and laundry contain many laborsaving devices. There also is a dispensary, a library, and a large dining room-social hall. In addition, there are many modern farm buildings. Mixed rarming is practiced, with grains, bananas, poultry, and dairy products as cash crops.

Each Kvutzah is governed by the general meeting of its members, which must be held at least once a year or whenever one third of the group requests such a meeting. It elects a committee of management to carry on the routine tasks of administration. Each member of this committee has different duties. There is usually a secretary-treasurer to control the finances, a work-organizer to assign various individuals to their respective jobs, and a Mukhtar, who deals with external affairs such as relations with other villages and the government. The chairman has no special or superior status. In the larger Kvuzoth there are also members who deal with purchase and the distribution of supplies.

The committee of management is assisted by several standing committees elected by the general meeting to deal with such activities as household and farm management, work distribution, education, and culture and recreation.

In a small Kvutzah the division of labor is a relatively simple matter. Most members have one or more specialties which they can do exceptionally well. In addition, most of them help with such routine chores as kitchen work and patrolling the village against possible attacks. Many Kvuzoth have members who are doctors, dentists, lawyers, veterinarians, nurses, cobblers, carpenters, etc. The well-established communities can send some of their members to attend special training courses.

There are about 100 days in each year in which no productive work

is done by members. The figures in the following two settlements represent the maximum and minimum totals respectively for 1936:

TABLE 1

Number of Days in Which No Productive Work Was Done (Settlements Representing Maximum and Minimum Totals)

Name of Kvutzah	CAUSES FOR DAY'S WORK LOST PER PERSON*							
	Illness and Convalescence	Sabbaths and Holidays	Annual Vacation	Childbirth and Suckling	Heavy Rain	Total Number of Days		
Ein Harod		58.0 58.0	12.0 11.0	2.3	2.4 3.0	110.3 88.3		

^{*}The figures are from the 1936 Bu!letin of the Audit Union of the Jewish Agricultural Labor Cooperatives in Palestine.

The sickness rate is rather high, which is due partly to the fact that most of the settlers must accustom themselves to the Mediterranean climate. The rate in the older *Kvuzoth* is much lower than that in those more recently established.

The Kvuzoth do not have identical structures and methods of operation. There are five federations of these collectives, each of which is based on somewhat different ideological premises. These federations hold occasional conferences, at which they discuss their principles and practices. There is also much cooperation among all collectives, regardless of which federation they belong to. Any member of any Kvutzah is welcome to stay at any other to sper d his vacation or to get some special training.

In addition nearly all members of all Kvuzoth belong to the Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, which unites rural, urban, and white-collar workers in one organization. One quarter of the Jewish population of Palestine are members of this federation. The Histadruth makes important services available to the Kvuzoth. The most important of these are cooperative marketing and buying, the services of the Labor Bank, and health insurance. A Kvutzah pays about three dollars a month for every member to this insurance scheme, for which they are entitled to free medical treatment and hospitalization.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE KVUTZAH

It is in its social relationships that the Kvutzah has made the most radical changes from the patterns that are dominant in the Euro-American civilization. The most important of these are the changes in the

role of the family and of the individual. Proponents of the *Kvutzah* way of living believe that they are discovering new social forms which will permit human beings to live peacefully with one another and to enjoy the fruits of man's scientific and technological discoveries.

Individuals join a *Kvutzah* through free choice, after overcoming many obstacles, not the least of which is the one year trial period. They are members of a group that owns its means of production. The group also has much control over the consumption of the members. They not only *work*, but *live* with the same group in a rather intimate relationship. The group influence and control is much greater than it is in the Euro-American culture. The question arises therefore whether the *Kvutzah* gives the individual sufficient freedom and chance for self-expression?

For many people this answer is certainly no. They were reared in an individualistic culture and desire their own home, their own income, and as much independence in conducting their lives as possible. If they join a Kvutzah, they soon leave. The answer for those who live in one must be yes, since membership is voluntary and selective. This can first be explained by the fact that all successful Kvuzoth are fairly homogeneous groups. Although they have much control over the individual, this control is exercised by people who think and act very much alike. In addition, all but the most socially intelligent and idealistic people are weeded out.

Proponents of the Kvutzah even think that they have more chance to express themselves than they would have if they lived by themselves. By working and living collectively they save much in time and money. They can enjoy more leisure and a higher standard of living than they would otherwise. Does not self-expression depend largely on sufficient economic security and on sufficient leisure to do the things one wants to do? Where else can farmers, especially pioneering farmers, take an annual vacation, become ill without endangering the welfare of their farm and their family, and spend their free time with a large group of people with whom they have much in common? The Kvutzoth can have libraries, choirs, discussion groups, and communal celebrations which might not be possible if each member lived and managed independently. Although the group exercises a strong social control, it does not require all people to live the same lives. On Sabbaths, on holidays, and on workdays during the long noon-rest-periods from 11:30 A.M. to about 2:00 P.M. and after about 7:00 in the evening, each man is free

to do what he wants. If he is tired, he can sleep. Parents can play with their children, and lovers can stroll in the moonlight. Mr. A can study the most recent bulletin of the Agricultural Experiment Station, and Mr. B can write his article for the newspaper.

Of course, a small Kvutzah of less than 100 members must have a very homogeneous type of membership in order not to stifle individual self-expression. In such a group people know each other well; they are primary groups. Those who find it difficult to maintain close, face-to-face relationships with so many people and yet are attracted by the Kvutzah form of living, can join a Kibbuz. There, personal interactions are on a more secondary plane, and each member can enjoy a greater amount of privacy.

Critics of the Kvutzah often claim that men are not likely to put forth their best efforts, when their earnings are the same, no matter how much or little they work. They claim it cannot succeed in attracting superior people, who will not agree to share the fruits of their labor with average or inferior people. This criticism is undoubtedly correct for a great many individuals. But again it must be remembered that the Kvutzah membership consists of highly selected idealists. Many of them had to risk their very lives to get to Palestine, smuggling themselves across borders past guards who would shoot them like deer if they got a chance. The purpose of their lives is not to acquire material wealth and comforts but to build a home and a new form of society for the scattered Jewish people. The work they do to realize these ideals, and the group recognition that they get for it, is a sufficiently great incentive.

The role of the family is a great problem in the Kvutzah. It has no economic function, since the individual is the unit of labor. In the intimacy of Kvutzah life the members also find much of the affection that, if they lived alone, they would seek in marriage. On the other hand, the family has traditionally been a strong institution in Jewish culture. Much "experimentation" has been and is going on in various Kvuzoth to find the proper place for the family in the group. But certain dominant practices have already developed.

As soon as a man and a woman announce themselves married, they are given separate living quarters. Husband and wife usually spend much of their leisure time together. Between them the bond of affection and love can be as strong as in the usual marriage. Most observers think that marriages are stable, but no reliable statistics are at present available on this subject. When people want a divorce, they simply

have to declare this fact. Effects of divorces on the women and children are not as serious as they frequently are in America. Women do not depend financially on their husbands. The children are brought up in the Children's House, and are therefore spared from witnessing many scenes of marital discord. The simplicity of divorce procedures also saves the individuals from strains and tragedies that might result if they were complicated.

In the Kvutzah women have achieved full emancipation, since their economic dependency on the men has been eliminated. They are zealous to take part in all activities. At times this is carried so far as to demand an equal share in such tasks as defense and hard physical labor. If they want to do such work and can do it efficiently, they are permitted to do so. Nevertheless, a certain division of labor between the sexes has grown up, due to the inherent differences between male and female. The nursery and kindergarten are completely operated by women. Also the kitchen, laundry, and sewing-room are mostly staffed by them, although the men have to take their turn in such chores as washing dishes and waiting on tables. On the other hand, women do not play an important part in defense and certain types of very hard physical labor, such as road-building or field work.

The children live in special children's houses from birth on.⁸ During the first few months the mothers come there to suckle their infants. The children's houses are usually the first permanent buildings to be erected and are well equipped to give the children healthy surroundings. Their upbringing and education are carefully looked after. Although the general standard of living in Palestine is much lower than in the United States of America, the cost of bringing up a child is relatively high: about \$2,000 from birth till the age of 16.

The members of the Kvuzoth claim that this system has many advantages. While in the ordinary working family a considerable part of the mother's time is required to raise the children, in the Kvutzah most women are free to do productive work, while their children receive expert care and attention. Trained nurses, kindergarten workers, and teachers look after their health and education. The children learn from babyhood to live collectively. This is necessary if the Kvutzah form of living is to perpetuate itself. The Kvutzah members believe that their

³ In a few Kvuzoth, as for instance in Daganiah, the children stay with their parents for the night after they have been weaned. The children live together only during the day, while their parents are at work.

children's houses will rear a strong and hard-working generation which will more fully realize the ideals that the parents are striving for.

There still remains a close bond between parents and children. The children can be visited by their parents at any time, although the latter usually refrain from doing so while the children have school or are supposed to sleep. Children clearly distinguish between the friendly affection shown by nurses and teachers and the love of their parents. Families spend most of their leisure time together. Kvutzah supporters point out that among working-class people who are employed in factories or offices the children spend most of the day alone, often without adequate supervision. Even among well-to-do classes they are, during most of the working hours, in school and under the care of nurses.

There has been little careful research to discover what the effects of changes of family function have been on parents and children, and husbands and wives. Perhaps the movement is still too young to permit us to draw any reliable conclusions, especially since these practices are constantly undergoing changes.

In 1938, 57 of the 204 Jewish villages in Palestine were *Kvuzoth*. Since most of the colonies founded since then have been *Kvuzoth*, their proportion, which was 27.9 per cent in 1938, has probably risen to over 33 per cent. They have nearly 15,000 members.

ADVANTAGES CLAIMED FOR THE KVUTZAH

The division of labor possible in a Kvutzah gives rise to many advantages. If well administered, much saving in time and money results, since each phase of work can be done by specialists. If people feel ill, they do not have to drag themselves to work for fear of losing their job or because certain farmwork simply has to be done. All Kvuzoth have a few temporary members who want to learn farming. Frequently they also care for and rear a group of refugee children and adolescents. A Kvutzah is especially well adapted to the training of such novices, since it practices many branches of agriculture, each of which is supervised by experts. The leisure that its members can enjoy is much greater than it would be if they did not work and live collectively. As a result the Kvuzoth carry on many cultural activities.

Because of the highly selective membership and the available leisure, the *Kvuzoth* have a great influence on the developing Hebrew culture. This influence is much greater than their number would merit. Many of the leaders of Palestine Jewry are members of these collectives.

The Kvutzah is the most economical form of settlement. Its overhead and maintenance expenses are much lower than if the colonists settled as individuals. This makes it possible for them to spend more money for improving the village or helping their dependent parents and siblings. While a depression, crop failure, or prolonged illness may force an individual farmer to abandon his land, the Kvutzah offers a great deal of security against such disasters. It can hold out much longer.

The Kvutzah is also especially adapted to overcome the hazards of pioneering settlement in isolated parts of the country. During the last few years, until the outbreak of the war brought (paradoxically) peace to Palestine, the Jewish colonies were frequently attacked by hostile Arabs. The Kvutzah is easily defended. Its buildings are compact, and the distribution of work can easily be suited to the requirements of defense operations. The necessary drainage of swamps and the clearing of neglected land could hardly be achieved by private initiative. It is too expensive and hazardous for an individual family.

During recent years, the Mandatory Government often refused to permit the establishment of new Jewish colonies under the pretense that it could not guarantee the safety of the settlers. But the Zionists could not permit their work to stand still, especially in view of the disastrous position of the Jews in Europe east of the Rhine and the Alps. They resorted to building their colonies in a single day and confronting the government with a fait accompli. In great secrecy the building materials for the future colony would be assembled in a neighboring Jewish village. A watchtower with a strong search-light, stockades, tents, and barracks would be loaded on trucks. Then, on a certain day, volunteer workers from all over the country would come. They would leave the village at night and drive the trucks to the site of the to-be-established colony. With sunrise they would start building, protected by Jewish Civil Guards. When the sun set, there would be a new Jewish community.

The Kvutzah, more than any other existing form of social organization, is equipped to undertake these pioneering tasks. Some observers even think that it is merely the result of pioneering conditions, and that it will be displaced by other social forms as soon as the Jewish National Home becomes established on a more secure basis.

Critics of the Kvutzah form of settlement, while admitting its advantages, point out that because it requires the individual to change

his habitual ways of living radically, it can only attract a relatively small number of people. If it were the only form of Jewish rural colonization, there could not be much of it. In addition, it occasionally happens that a man, who spent much of his life working in and building a Kvutzah, may find that he no longer fits into the group, because of acquired political or religious ideas which are in strong contrast with the dominant opinion. If he finds it necessary to leave, he has to start again from the beginning. He has practically no legal claims to be reimbursed for his years of labor. Although the group will usually help such people to get established independently, such situations are nevertheless unfortunate.

Supporters of the Kvutzah will answer these criticisms by suggesting that if they succeed in educating larger and larger numbers to this collective form of living, it may after a few decades become the dominant social form. It will then become as "natural" and as generally accepted as is the individual form of living today. It will then no longer be a handicap to the existence of a large rural population. In answer to the criticism that the Kvutzah leaves no room for people who strongly differ on important issues with the group, it should be kept in mind that, even in our present individualistic society men sometimes deviate so greatly from the other members of their group that they become socially ostracized and find it advisable to leave.

The Kvutzah is a radical departure from the mode of living that prevails in the Euro-American culture. Whether it is merely a temporary product of the pioneering demands of Palestine, or a permanent institution, cannot yet be decided. At any rate, it is an unusual experiment, which if studied more carefully, might give rise to important conclusions about the adequacy and efficiency of our own prevailing social forms.

THE MOSHAV-OVDIM ("COOPERATIVE VILLAGE")

There are many farmers in Palestine who could not adjust themselves to the radical changes in habits of living demanded by the Kvutzah. Yet they are just as enthusiastic to build a Jewish National Home and to found a just and peaceful society. They are convinced that they could be most efficient and would be happiest if they are masters of their own destiny and could maintain the traditional family form. Nevertheless, they want to enjoy the advantageous cooperative features of the Kvutzah. To answer their need the Moshav-Ovdim type of village was created.

The Moshav-Ovdim is a village with small individual farms. The area of each unit varies from 7 to 25 acres, depending upon the quality of the soil, the possibilities for irrigation, and the crops that can be grown. Each is large enough to support a family by means of intensive cultivation. No hired labor is allowed because the settlers think they should not permit others to work for them, the settlers thus profiting from their labor. Such practices would lead to the development of a rural landless proletariat, and they fear that the community would degenerate culturally if the members were permitted to live on the labor of others. Even village employees, such as the teacher, the herdsman, and the doctor, are given small plots of land for a garden to give them a living connection with the soil.

The income of each family depends primarily on its skill and industry, since its farm consists of strips in every section of the village which has a different type of soil and fertility. Each farmer is free to plant what he wants, although diversified agriculture is the general rule to make failures in a single crop less ruinous.

Cooperation and mutual aid extend to a great many activities, despite the existence of private property and management. All farm products are sold through the producers' cooperative of the *Histadruth*, the General Federation of Jewish Labor. Big farm-machines are bought collectively. In many villages the herds are grazed by the village herdsman, and the area alloted to grain production is cultivated on the same basis, each family receiving an equal share of the profits. The farmers also participate in the health insurance scheme of the Jewish Federation of Labor. In case of illness, their fellow farmers will help until the patient gets well.

The Moshav-Ovdim consists of a few dozen to several hundred families. To become a member, the farmer must have about \$2,000. This amount is not sufficient to pay for the farm; but, since the land is given to him on a hereditary lease by the Jewish National Fund, and he can receive loans, this sum is sufficient to get him started. The group usually has certain requirements to assure cultural and ideological homogeneity. Although they are not as narrow as those imposed by the Kvutzah, they are by no means lax. However, a member cannot be expelled later on if he begins to deviate from the group on crucial

⁴ Although they are farm owners, they are considered "workers" because they support themselves by their own labor exclusively. They therefore are entitled to membership in the Histadruth.

issues. Different Moshavei-Ovdim (plural of Moshav-Ovdim) are based on different social, political, and religious philosophies.

A Moshav-Ovdim in formation is called an Irgun. In this stage, the members, who may work in cities or on farms, send their savings to a common account, although the contributions of each family are accounted for separately. If enough money is available to settle, the Irgun will apply for a strip of land from the Jewish National Fund. Some of the members will go there to drain the swamps and clear the land. When everything is ready, the land is divided into parcels of different fertility, each family receiving a piece in each parcel. A reserve is kept for community buildings, woods, grazing grounds, and playgrounds. A sufficiently large area of land is also kept for the use of village employees.

Nahalal, the first Moshav-Ovdim, which was established in the valley of Jezreel in 1921, may serve as an example demonstrating that this form of colonization can be very successful. Although less than twenty years old, its members live in comfortable concrete houses, have good barns, and own cattle, poultry, sheep, and Lorses. The village has fine community spirit and is well organized. Its kindergarten is housed in two modern buildings, and its school teaches all phases of agriculture. Nahalal is a center of Jewish culture. The Hebrew theaters and the Palestine Symphony Orchestra give regular performances there.

The Moshav-Ovdim is governed by an elected village council and a mayor. It raises taxes and maintains a school, kindergarten, and town hall. In religious Moshavei-Ovdim a Synagogue and Rabbi are also maintained by the village. Some have sewage and irrigation systems. There are planned community programs to meet the needs of all sections of the population for lectures, discussions, concerts, plays, study courses, singing, and communal celebration of national and religious holidays. The council also takes the necessary steps for the defense of the village.

All the *Moshavei-Ovdim* in Palestine are members of a federation to discuss their common problems and advocate this form of colonization.

Of the 204 Jewish colonies in 1938, 68 of them, or 33 per cent, were Moshavei-Ovdim. Their greatest advantage is that they permit the maintenance of the prevailing forms of family relationships. They do away with class-distinctions. They also do not abolish private property, while utilizing many of the collective features of the Kvutzah.

Compared to the Kvutzah, the Moshav-Ovdim requires more labor from each person, has greater overhead and maintenance costs, and is less well adapted to the demands of pioneering settlement in isolated regions. Yet the members of the Moshavei-Ovdim think that their greater economic and social independence are well worth the sacrifices that they must make in the form of greater expenses and more work.

COMPARISON OF EARLY AMERICAN AND PALESTINIAN FORMS OF RURAL COLLECTIVISM

The collective forms of living that dominate in the rural villages of Jewish Palestine are not the first or the only instances of such communities. The only country in which similar communities exist on a large scale today is Russia. But there the collective farms are compulsory and state controlled. Their development and structure are partly determined from without and above, not only from within and below. Therefore, they cannot be considered a voluntary sociological experiment in the adaptation of human beings to their technologically complicated environment.

In the United States, during the first half of the last century, there were many similar collectives established, most of which did not last very long. They did not temper their idealism with the forces of economic and cultural reality. They were usually dominated by one man and disintegrated rapidly after his death. Among them were such religious deviates as the Shakers at Mt. Lebanon, New York; the Amana villages, some of which still exist today in Iowa; and the Perfectionist Movement at Oneida, New York. There were also several non-religiously inspired attempts, such as Robert Owen's settlement and the Icarians.

The colonization of Utah by the Mormons in the middle of the nineteenth century offers another interesting parallel. Both the Mormon and the Jewish colonizations were motivated by strong spiritual ideals, religious in the case of the former and national and social in the case of the latter. Both were victims of intolerance. The scarcity of water and the need for adequate defense were common to both situations. Although today Mormon villages have abandoned many of their former collective features, the cooperative movement is still very strong in Utah.⁵

⁵ Cf. Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1932), pp. 184-186; Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXI (May, 1917), 461-499.

Those who hold that farmers are "naturally" individualistic and predict the eventual disappearance of collective forms of rural colonization in Palestine on this account, can point for support to the failure of these communities in the United States. But this country, especially during its pioneering years, was hardly a fair testing ground for collectivism. It had untold riches and resources which were only waiting to be tapped by anyone who possessed some initiative and intelligence. The American colonists came to this country as individuals. Each man wanted to get as much as he could and was not willing to sacrifice very much for those who were not as well equipped to make a place for themselves. Life was still simple enough so that each family could produce most of the things it needed. There was no incentive to largescale cooperation, except for defense against the Indians and to maintain schools, churches, and government. To supply these institutions and services, the large individual farmstead, which is the most prominent form of rural colonization in this country, was well adapted.

But present-day Palestine, while it has many pioneering problems similar to those of the United States, is a poor country. The individual is powerless to overcome the many difficulties involved in settling on the land. Large expenditures of capital are necessary before anything can be grown. Land must be cleared, and swamps must be drained. Wells must be dug, and the group must be strong enough to defend itself at any time. In addition, the Jews of Palestine are very anxious to increase their numbers as rapidly as possible. To do this they must be willing to train novices and supply most of the capital needed for their colonization. Collective action on a large scale is a necessity if Zionism is to succeed. In Palestine, unlike America in the days of its colonization, the environment favors collectivism.

CONCLUSION

The Kvuzoth and Moshavei-Ovdim are merely parts of a larger movement to build in Palestine a socialist society, where democracy and freedom go hand in hand with economic planning. They are the rural components and expressions which have their counterparts in the cities.

From a sociological point of view, they are a large social experiment which may yield interesting results. It may throw light on the problems of family life and the role of the individual in society. It may show to what extent a new rural social system can be planned by voluntary action, without governmental compulsion.

This experiment is carried on by nearly 250 different Jewish villages, of which each principal form, the *Moshavah*, *Kvutzah*, and *Moshav-Ovdim*, constitutes about a third. These three forms are freely competing with each other. Although they are divided into three principal types, there are practically no two colonies that are alike in the minor details of their social and economic structures. There are frequent changes in villages, whenever the members think that a certain practice does not work well.

The experimenters, who are also the subjects of experimentation, come from almost all countries and cultures of the world. Although the majority hail from Poland, Germany, Russia, Rumania, the Baltic States, and Yemen (Arabia), settlers also come from England, Holland, Tunis, Persia, Kurdistan, etc. There are nearly 300 American Jews in Kvuzoth and probably many more in Moshavei-Ovdim and Moshavoth. Although all these immigrants bring with them a certain common element of Jewish culture, they have wide cultural differences. They speak many different languages. However, they quickly learn Hebrew, and most of the children have Hebrew as their mother tongue. They like different foods, are used to different types of clothing and housing, and have many different ideologies and standards of ethics.

Most of the experimenters are carefully selected, because the Zionist organization is influential in determining the human material that comes to Palestine. In addition, the difficulties of getting there and the hard work and strain of making a living in the country weed out many of the less adaptable elements. As a result Palestine in general, and the Kvuzoth and Moshavei-Ovdim in particular, absorb only the cream of the Jewish people. The members are physically fit, are imbued with national and social idealism, and most of them are well educated.

This large-scale experiment is still in the process of being conducted, and it is therefore too early to draw any reliable conclusions. But its development should be of interest to all sociologists, psychologists, economists, and students of government.

One conclusion, however, can already be drawn. The widespread belief that the Jewish people are an urban nation, unsuited to rural life, is disproved by the success of agricultural colonization in Palestine, which supports nearly 25 per cent of the entire Jewish population. The fact that the Jews, who lived for centuries in cities or even in narrow Ghettos, were able to become successful farmers within a few years is encouraging news to those who believe that necessary cultural changes can be made quickly, as long as favorable conditions for them are provided.

Although no other conclusions can yet be drawn from this experiment, there are certain indications that the Kvuzoth and the Moshavei-Ovdim will be permanent forms of agricultural colonization. The first is that the youth growing up in these colonies remain or settle on collectives of their own. Many of the young people who grow up in the cities also want to live in such villages. The members of the Kvuzoth and the Moshavoth are looked up to by the great majority of the Jews of Palestine and especially by the youth. They have greater prestige than doctors. Many of the leaders of Palestine Jewry are members of such colonies. This is not surprising since these collective farmers are the "front line soldiers" of the Jewish National Home. They have made the most complete break with the spiritual Ghetto of urbanism, into which Jews had been forced by centuries of persecution. They are most actively at work to develop new social forms, the need for which nearly all Jews in Palestine recognize, since they have suffered so much from the malfunctionings of the social forms of European and Asiatic countries.6

The interested reader will find basic materials in the following publications: Handbook of the Jewish Communal Villages in Palestine, Head Office of the Keren Kayemeth L'Israel and Keren Hayessod (Jerusalem, 1938), 62 pp.; Enya Harris Live, Cooperative Enterprise in Palestine (New York: Education Department of Zionist Organization of America, 1937), 31 pp.; A. Revusky, Jews in Palestine (New York: Vanguard Press, 1935), pp. 112-150; Arthur Ruppin, Landwirtschaftliche Kolonisation der Zionistischen Organization in Palestine (Berlin: Aufbau, 1925), 205 pp.; Franz Oppenheimer, Merchavia—A Jewish Cooperative Settlement in Palestine (New York: Jewish National Fund Bureau for America, 1914), 33 pp.; S. Zemach, The Jewish Village (Jerusalem: Keren Hayessod, 1932), 30 pp.; Joseph Baratz, The Story of Daganiah (Tel Aviv, Palestine: Omanuth, Jewish National Fund Library No. 1, 1931), 78 pp.; Samuel Dayan, Nahalal (Tel Aviv, Palestine: Omanuth, Jewish National Fund Library No. 3, 1936), 60 pp.

Notes

PROPOSALS FOR REORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

J. H. Kolb, president of the Rural Sociological Society, has requested me to make a statement regarding the proposals of the Organization Committee of the American Sociological Society.

This committee was appointed by E. H. Sutherland, past president of the American Sociological Society, in the spring of 1939, as voted by the Society at its Detroit meeting. It consists of fourteen appointed members and the secretaries and chairmen of the regional sociological societies, ex officio. J. H. S. Bossard is chairman, and C. C. Zimmerman and the writer are the rural sociologist members. The committee carried on an extensive correspondence and had a meeting at Philadelphia, where it presented a report which will be found in the February, 1940, issue of the American Sociological Review.

This report comprises four major topics: (1) Membership, (2) Relation to Regional and Specialized Societies, (3) Reorganization of Executive Committee, and (4) Miscellaneous.

The first recommendation, on membership, is most in dispute and will be discussed last. The second recommendation, concerning affiliated societies, is the one which immediately concerns the Rural Sociological Society. This recommendation is chiefly concerned with the affiliation of the regional societies, but it specifically mentions the Rural Sociological Society which, with "other specialized societies," shall have the privilege of affiliation. Affiliated societies are to be quite autonomous as to membership, finances, etc., the only restriction being that if they meet at the same time and place as the American Sociological Society "the program of the affiliated organization must be coordinated" with that of the latter. This seems a wise provision, which many of us will welcome. An affiliated society has the privilege of electing one member to represent it on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, providing the third recommendation is approved. It is the writer's judgment that this recommendation in principle provides a satisfactory and desirable basis for the affiliation of specialized and regional societies.

The third recommendation provides that the Executive Committee elect three of its members, who with the officers and the editor of the *American Sociological Review* will form an administrative committee to act *ad interim* for the Executive Committee. This arrangement will tend to center responsibility and make possible a more continuous administrative policy than is now possible with a large Executive Committee meeting only at the annual meetings.

The fourth recommendation, "miscellaneous," states that the society approves in principle of the election of officers by mail ballot. This recommendation seemed to command very general approval at the Philadelphia meeting, and is in line with the practice of several of the largest national scientific and educational societies. It will make for democracy and will prevent the elections being domi-

nated by members from the immediate locality of the meeting.

The last three recommendations seemed to meet with little opposition. The first recommendation, regarding a classified membership, aroused very strong opposition. This provides that there be two classes of members, members and fellows. Fellows are to be elected only on the basis of specified professional qualifications, and voting for election of officers is to be restricted to the fellows. This provision is frankly patterned after the constitution of the American Psychological Association, which has had such a distinction for many years. Its members feel that this has very definitely strengthened the organization and the professional standards of psychologists.

The merit of this first recommendation is clearly debatable, and I would urge that however they may feel about it rural sociologists vote for the other three.

Upon vote of the Society a census of the membership has been conducted to make possible an estimate of what proportion of its present membership would be eligible to become fellows. It is hoped to publish a summary of this in the August issue of the Review. Personally I would favor a classified membership if it might include a majority of the present members, although I would prefer the terms member and associate member.

The Organization Committee was instructed to poll the membership with regard to these recommendations. It has arranged a ballot which gives opportunity for more than a yes or no answer to each proposal, and it is hoped that the members of the Society will answer the alternative questions carefully so that the committee may get the representative opinion of the membership. Upon the basis of the replies received the Organization Committee was instructed to draft amendments to the constitution which will be submitted to the membership with the notice of the next meeting, as required by the constitution.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

GRADUATE TRAINING IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

Resources at Harvard for graduate as well as for undergraduate training in rural sociology include not only an active major in the leading department of sociology but opportunities for minor work in the most important of the leading associated fields. By working with John D. Black through the seminars in the Littauer School of Public Administration the student can get a minor in agricultural economics which puts him in immediate contact with all the major leaders in governmental planning for economic agriculture. E. A. Hooton and Carleton Coon offer training in the physical anthropology of the rural popula-

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of three statements on the recruiting and training of personnel in rural sociology. It deals with the situation at Harvard, as representing a private university situation. The others deal with the problem from the standpoint of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant Universities.

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tion through the facilities of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Anthropology. In the fields of history of agriculture and its associated branches the student at Harvard has the opportunity to work with Arthur M. Schlesinger, Frederick C. Merk, and N. S. B. Gras. Training in social psychology and its associated fields as they apply to rural life can be had through the courses with Gordon Allport and his associates. Finally, the training in sociological theory in the Harvard Department of Sociology can be carried on under P. A. Sorokin, whose interest in rural sociology is well-known internationally.

Not all persons interested in sociology are equipped naturally to study in the field of rural life. Such a field requires men with considerable rural backgrounds, well integrated personalities, deep fundamental interests in Nativism and the foundations of our culture, and, finally, highly qualified minds capable of handling empirical facts in relation to some of the most complicated and abstruse of our sociological theories. As a result, the problem of interesting even the highest caliber students in rural sociology is first a matter of selection. After that come the problems of the centering of motivation and of complete training. This must be done with due reference to the fact that most training of graduate students must be financed institutionally.

The funds for supporting graduate students in rural sociology at Harvard come from a number of small regular fellowships within the control of the department, aided by incidental fellowship grants by foundations and paid positions as teaching fellows. A "teaching fellow" under the Harvard scheme is a class assistant and an undergraduate tutor. The major portion of the money comes from the teaching fellowships. Four or five of these are awarded each year to the more mature and qualified graduate students who have at least had one year of instruction here at Harvard. These can pay between \$500 and \$1,300 a year to the qualified student. The aim is to pick the better students and give them sufficient employment to finish their Ph.D.'s. However, one cannot hold a position as a teaching fellow for more than four years. If he does not finish his work in that time, he must get out. Most finish in two years as teaching fellows.

The fellowships awarded without service are limited in number. The general aim is to use these for new men so as to bring to Harvard as many as possible who have not been here before. In a normal year three outsiders are awarded tuition fellowships by the department: one may get a special all-Harvard grant, and one other may be taken care of by some outside foundation, such as the General Education Board. Those who make good on these first-year fellowships are generally supported by pay for services as teaching fellows until they complete their graduate work and find positions. Ordinarily there are ten or twelve applicants for each available first-year grant, so that the candidates are highly selected.

The content for training for those who do specialize in rural sociology must be varied on the one hand and rigid on the other. It used to be the practice in many institutions to push the "left-overs" into Rural Sociology. This was a very bad practice which harmed the field and contributed negatively to the development of Rural Sociology as a science. With the increasing demands for qualified sociologists this can no longer be permitted anywhere.

A rural sociologist should be able to grasp and use all the general concepts and ideas of sociological theory and, in addition, have a specialized interest such as the Negro, farm tenancy, French-Canadians, standard of living, the community, commercial farmers as a social class, or the subsistence problems of the great American yeomanry. This means that the rural sociologist should pass the examinations for the Ph.D. in general sociology in addition to exhibiting highly specialized training, including field work in his specal field. The concrete development of such a well-trained student can be illustrated as follows: This student, a descendant of the Louisiana French, wants to specialize in a study of his people and of the racial problems in the rural South. After securing an M.A. degree from a southern university he received a General Education Board fellowship, spending two years at Harvard. While at Harvard he passed his general examination in the sociology department and received special training in racial problems with Hooton and Coon and in economic problems with Black. In addition he was able to spend two summers in field research, one among the French in Canada and the other in the ancestral home of the American French in western France. Such a man has an "ideal" training. The extent to which others approximate this type of training is a measure of their preparation. This man has technical training in a land-grant institution, theoretical training in Sociology at Harvard, and specialized training in Rural Sociology, Physical Anthropology, and Agricultural Economics. In addition, from his wider studies he has been able to see a good deal of the world background of the major problems of his interest. He has studied the French in the South, in New England, in Canada, and in France. He has studied the Negro in the South, in the northern cities, and seen them as colonials in France. Probably in his future years he will he able to add some field work in Africa, the ancestral home of the Negro, and some observations of the Negro in the Latin-American countries.

Training does not guarantee that a person will be a scholar. Nevertheless, a properly balanced training can make better scholars out of the products of our academic institutions.

All social problems exist in the country as well as in the city; but in the country human values move more slowly, and the student can observe them; whereas in the city the constant mobility of all objects and values generally impedes observation. Then again, the country plays the selecting and preserving roles in the culture of the civilization. Things which are normal in the city, such as high divorce rates, high suicide rates, or low birth rates, are not normal in the country. Consequently, the sociologist who studies only urban phenomena always studies decaying societies. The ordinary city, if left to itself, would disappear in one hundred years. As a result, the only true perspective upon a society can be reached after a study of the rural processes. This means that unless the rural sociologist gets a well-founded understanding of sociological theory and contributes to its development, the sociology of a nation essentially becomes a dry system of logistics. This explains why German sociology, when the formal

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school began to dominate the field, finally ended in a sociology of three motions, the context of which could be learned by a schoolchild in one morning. This explains why in all the "pure" social sciences the relativism of values becomes so confused that equally distinguished men can champion opposite theories of action, neither of which is valid.

The emerging Nativism and Shintoism of American culture now offers a most challenging field to the rural sociologist. America is finally born but has not yet come of age. The constant output of books about our rivers, our mountains, our regions, our country lawyers, and our country doctors illustrates this inward striving for an integrated culture in America. As yet we are a people, but we are rapidly becoming a folk. The job of the rural sociologist in this transition is the most challenging but at the same time the most difficult.

Harvard has thus taken the lead among the world's private universities offering graduate academic training in rural sociology. This is an important step not only because Harvard is the world's leading university, but also because it is the American national university imbedded in more than 300 years of the American tradition.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

TRANSMISSION OF FARMING AS AN OCCUPATION, II

In a previous article in RURAL SOCIOLOGY¹ the author presented a series of generalizations about the transmission of farming over three generations.

The present article supplements and tests whether these generalizations are true. It is based upon information obtained from 664 farm operators in Cortland County, New York, who furnished data about the occupations followed by their fathers, their brothers, and their sons.

Since the information in this study was obtained from farm operators only, it is not possible to test generalizations which compare farming with nonfarming occupations.

The Decrease in the Transmission of Farming. These data show clearly that there is a decrease in the transfer of farming from fathers to sons in succeeding generations. In the previous study, 50 per cent of the sons of the grandfathers and only 31 per cent of the sons of the fathers became farmers.

In the farmer families of the present sample, 64 per cent of the sons of the grandfathers became farmers, while 36 per cent of the sons of the farmer fathers became farmers. Though the percentages obtained in the two studies differ, the direction of the change is clearly the same, and the relative decrease in the proportion of sons following the father's occupation is about the same.

The reason for this difference in the percentages of sons who follow the father's occupation is, in part at least, that the sample in this present study was obtained from farmers only. This means that at least one of the brothers in each family was a farmer, and that in all the families where there was but one son, he was a farmer. Therefore, the percentage of sons of the grandfather who

¹ W. A. Anderson, The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation, RURAL SOCIOLOGY, IV, No. 4 (December, 1939), 433-448.

followed him as a farmer is certain to be larger than if the families interviewed had been a random selection.

The important fact is, however, that both studies show the decrease in transmission of farming from one generation to the next.

This decreasing transmission of farming is further enforced by the fact that the proportion of farm families in which all the sons followed the father's occupation is considerably less for the father's sons than the grandfather's. In 47 per cent of the grandfather's families, all sons became farmers, while in only 31 per cent of the father's families was this true.

Farming Is a Self-Perpetuating Occupation. As in the previous study, these data also show that farming is an occupation that perpetuates itself and has little influx from other occupations. Of the 664 farmers interviewed, 61 (or 9 per cent only) had fathers who were not farmers.

The sons of nonfarmers commonly do not become farmers. Farming is more than just a job; it is a way of life, the skills and activities of which are absorbed only after considerable experience. Thus, to move from nonfarming backgrounds into farming with success is difficult.

Which Son Inherits the Occupation? In the grandfather generation there were 148 families, and in the father generation, 25, in which there were 2 or more sons, only one of whom followed the father's occupation of farming.

Of these sons following the grandfather in farming, 44 per cent were the oldest son, 18 per cent a middle son, and 38 per cent the youngest son. In the father generation, 48 per cent were the oldest son, 12 per cent a middle son, and 40 per cent the youngest son.

Thus where only one son followed the father's occupation of farming both in the grandfather and father generations, it was the oldest son who did so most frequently, while the youngest son took next ranking.

In the grandfather generation, there were 311 families where there were 2 or more sons and one or more followed the father's occupation of farming. In the father generation there were 62 families of a similar sort.

The proportion of the families in which an oldest son was one of those following the father's occupation was greater in both the grandfather and father generations than the proportion of middle or youngest sons.

In general, therefore, the same conclusion may be stated as in the previous study as to which son inherits the father's occupation. It is the oldest son who follows the father most frequently, and then the youngest son.

In the grandfather generation, a slightly larger proportion of the families included middle sons who followed the grandfather's occupation rather than the youngest sons; but the reverse was true for the father generation, as these figures indicate.

In the grandfather generation, 55 per cent of the families included oldest sons who became farmers, while 40 and 37 per cent respectively included middle and youngest sons. In the father generation, 76 per cent of the families included oldest sons who became farmers, while 39 and 66 per cent respectively included middle and youngest sons.

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Occupations Entered by the Sons. The same generalization may be stated with regard to the types of occupations entered by the sons of farmers as was made in our previous study, namely, the farmer's sons enter all the major types of occupations. Both in the grandfather and the father generations, each major class of occupation was represented by sons who were following an occupation in it. No class of occupation is closed to the sons of farmers.

The significant difference in the two studies, however, is in the percentage who enter the different kinds of work. The present sample was taken directly from operating farmers. The sample described in the previous report was from students in New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University and represented upper-class families.

In the present sample much larger proportions of the sons became farmers (64 and 36 per cent in each generation respectively) than in the previous study (50 and 33 per cent respectively). Much smaller proportions entered the professions and the proprietary occupations than in the previous study, while much larger proportions became semiskilled, unskilled workers, and farm laborers than in the previous study.

Thus, in the present sample but 1 per cent in the grandfather generation and 4 per cent in the father generation became professional people, as compared with 10 per cent in the grandfather generation and 38 per cent in the father generation in the previous study. And similar differences are found with respect to entrance into skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled occupations.

The reason for such differences, as indicated, is in the nature of the two samples, the one being a selected upper-class group and the latter a cross-section of the operating farm population.

Further Study. The Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell is studying this problem further. A large cross-section sample is being obtained through the schools in two counties by having the high school children furnish the information about the occupations of their fathers, grandfathers, uncles, and brothers.

The study has value as furnishing more facts for a complete theory of rural social selection and for practical problems of rural education.

Cornell University

W. A. ANDERSON

BEGINNINGS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN YUGOSLAVIAT

It is characteristic of the development of sociology in Europe that younger and smaller countries seem to be more willing to accept it and offer it the opportunity to justify its existence and need for expansion. The best example of very intense teaching and research in sociology was the former state of Czechoslovakia, where three departments of sociology existed, at the universities of Prague, Brno, and Bratislava. Another country with an exceptional understanding for sociology is Rumania, where a real new school of sociological method and thought has been built up in the Department of Sociology of the Bucharest

[†] From a lecture given at the University of California, February 14, 1940.

University.¹ Though general sociology has not been neglected, rural sociology is the main and specialized field of work of the Bucharest group. The research work is concentrated in the Social Institute, headed by Professor Dimitri Gusti, the outstanding figure of sociology in Rumania and the founder of the school. The Institute is editing two regular publications, the Sociologie Romanesca and the Arbiva Pentru Stiinta Si Reforma Sociala, which contain the results of the extensive and specialized field work of the group.²

In another Southeast European country, Yugoslavia, recent years have shown a very interesting development toward the definite acceptance and introduction of sociology. While there are but a few departments of sociology in Western Europe,³ in Yugoslavia there are six universities and colleges having sociology in their teaching program.⁴ All these departments have been established very recently, and the chairs of sociology are held mostly by rather young people, most of them educated on the lines of thought of French positivism and the Durkheimian school. Since the new departments are hardly older than a few years, their work is still experimental, consisting of search for methods and objects.⁵

While the first years of work have been devoted to preparation, organization, and elaboration of method, it seems as if in the years to come rural sociology will be the limited field of special efforts. It is not hard to understand that, in a country where the predominant majority of the population are peasant farmers, there will be a special interest and need for the development of rural rather than any other branch of sociology, especially in present times when rural life is in a period of transition and change throughout the Southeast. In that regard a close collaboration with the more experienced Rumanian sociologists will prove to be necessary and fruitful.

The present work in rural sociology and rural social research is confined to two centers, Belgrade and Zagreb, both having different projects and practically

¹ Cf. P. E. Mosely, "The Sociological School of Dimitrie Gusti," Sociological Review, XXVIII (April, 1936), 149-165.

² P. E. Mosely, "A New Rumanian Journal of Rural Sociology," RURAL SOCIOLOGY,

II, No. 4 (December, 1937), 457-465.

³ Cf. Earle Edward Eubank, "European and American Sociology: Some Comparisons," Social Forces, XV, No. 2 (December, 1936), 148-150. For detailed information on European sociology and sociologists cf. P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930).

*Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade (Slobodan Yovanovich, George Tassich, Yovan Georgevich, Sreten Vukosavlevich); Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb (Dinko Tomasich); Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana (Eugene Spektorski); Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade at Subotica (Peter Struve); College of Commerce, Belgrade (Dragoslav Todorovich); College of Commerce, Zagreb (the late Juraj Scetinetz).

⁵ Among the older generation of sociologists in Yugoslavia should be mentioned Slobodan Yovanovich, Mihailo Avramovich, Milan Vlainatz, Milan Ivsich, and Mirko Kossich, the last being a very prolific writer of sociological studies and author of a very good text book, used in colleges along with the translation of P. A. Sorokin's Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928).

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no contacts, this situation being caused by the internal political antagonisms in the last years; but the new agreement reached between the Serbs and Croats in August, 1939, might create better conditions for a closer collaboration and exchange of results of work.

At Belgrade, the work is concentrated in the Sociological Society, founded in 1935 under the name of "Society for Juridical Philosophy and Sociology" (Drustvo Za Pravnu Filozofiju I Sociologiju), this being changed in 1938 to "Society for Sociology and other Social Sciences" (Drustvo Za Sociologiju I Ostale Drustvene Nauke) or "Sociological Society." The Society is led by its founder George Tassich, professor of law in the University of Belgrade, a brilliant mind and a social scientist who could really claim to be the spirit of the younger group in the Faculty of Law.6 The Sociological Society has in the period 1935-1939 acted as an independent body, although very closely connected with the Faculty of Law of the Belgrade University. At the meeting of June, 1939, it was decided that the research work of the Society should be transferred to the Institute of Sociology to be created at the University of Belgrade.7 The Society will continue to exist formally as a body for scientific discussion. The Society itself was composed of members of the staff of the University of Belgrade, the College of Commerce, the Teachers College, and individual scientists and research workers; but the influence of the Faculty of Law was predominant and remarkable. The work was divided as follows: (a) lectures and discussions, (b) research work, and (c) publications.8

The work in rural sociology is still in the beginning. During the years 1936-1938 field work has been done in Northern Serbia (Machva, Posavina, Kosmaj, and Shumadia), but for several reasons, one of which was the lack of proper experience, there have been no special results, except that members of the Society became better acquainted with rural life of Serbia and collected individual

⁷ The Institute of Sociology is to be a part of the Faculty of Law and will incorporate an institute for economic research.

⁶ Of the older generation, Slobodan Yovanovich, an outstanding social scientist, should be mentioned. He has published a great number of studies on the political and social history of Serbia, problems in government, social philosophy and constitutional law. Before retiring from the University in 1939 he has conducted three graduate courses in sociology: (a) formal sociology, (b) sociology of religion, and (c) political sociology.

⁸ In 1939 the first volume of the Yearbook of Sociology (Socioloski Pregled) was published, containing contributions of the members of the Society. The volume was devoted to questions of method, and a number of studies were written by Slobodan Yovan-ovich, Mihailo Avramovich, George Tassich, Mihailo Konstantinovich, Sinisa Stankovich, Slobodan Popovich, Yovan Georgevich, Slobodan Draskovich, Dragoslav Todorovich, Ljubomir Dukanatz, Radomir Zivkovich, Branislav Nedelkovich, and others. The author of these lines, being a member of the Society before leaving for the United States, has contributed papers on "The Social Sciences in American Universities" and "The London School of Economics and Social Science." Mihailo Auramovich, the pioneer worker in the Serbian farmers' cooperative movement, has a long article on "Investigation in Social Phenomena in the United States," a part of which is devoted to American rural sociology (special attention paid to Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, to the writings of J. M. Gillette, to W. I. Thomas' and F. Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, and to the publication of RURAL SOCIOLOGY).

impressions and information. Lack of experience in field work and methods of inquiry was very characteristic of the Belgrade group, most of their leading members having a purely theoretical background. This was a contrast to the Bucharest group, influenced to a very great extent by American rural sociology and research methods. In 1939 the rural field work was charged to Sreten Vukosavlevich, an experienced investigator with an exceptional knowledge of rural life in Serbia. It was decided also that the next Yearbook of the Society shall be devoted to rural social problems. That the Belgrade group has very strongly shifted toward rural sociology can clearly be seen from the papers prepared for the Bucharest Congress of the International Sociological Institute. Practically all reports coming from Yugoslavia, as well as those coming from Rumania, were dealing with rural social problems.

In the Zagreb group, the work of Dinko Tomasich, professor of sociology in the University of Zagreb, should be mentioned in the first place. Trained partly in the United States (University of Chicago), Tomasich has spent a great deal of time working on the development and character of the "zadruga" institution in Croatia. On the other side, very extensive rural research work has been done by the "Gospodarska Sloga," an institution for economic investigation and cooperation, acting under the direction of Dr. Rudolf Bicanich. This group, working in Croatian villages, is very experienced and very active, although its work has a political background, being closely related to the activities and aims of the Croatian Peasant Party.

Although the results are rather moderate yet, it can be assumed that rural sociology will gradually develop in Yugoslavia, and will very soon be where it is in Rumania today. The foundations for a prospective work are already there, and the first testing steps have been made.¹¹ The country itself is an inexorable reservoir of fact materials and problems to be exposed and solved. As far as method and technique of work are concerned, a better acquaintance with Rumanian and American experiences would be of great help.

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⁹ Cf. "XIV^o Congrés de Sociologie," Revue Internationale de Sociologie, 47^o Année, III-IV (March-April, 1939), 113-125; ibid., I-II (January-February, 1939), 13-37.

¹⁰ Cf. H. J. E. Peake, "Village Community," Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, ed. E. R. A. Seligman, XV, 253-259.

¹¹ For the earlier development of sociology in Yugoslavia cf. J. S. Roucek, "The Development of Sociology in Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review*, I, No. 6 (December, 1936), 981-988.

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis, Editor

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

A Michigan State College bulletin,¹ "the first of a contemplated series dealing with local communities and conditions, is devoted to the determination of the boundaries of the natural areas surrounding the 35 or 40 towns and cities in the Lansing district and to a study of their reciprocal relationships."

"A six-fold purpose motivated this study:

(1) To determine Lansing's zone of influence as differentiated from that of Saginaw, Flint, Pontiac, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, and Grand Rapids;

(2) To discover, within this zone of influence, the constituent communities; and the center, boundary, size, and conformation of each, and the factors modifying those communities;

(3) To evaluate the extent to which natural community lines coincide with the legal boundaries of counties and townships;

(4) To note the change in agricultural, economic, and sociological factors with increasing distance from Lansing, using the township and concentric tiers of townships as units of study;

(5) To compare those tendencies and trends around Lansing with those around Grand Rapids and Flint; and

(6) To suggest some implications those factors may have for leaders engaged or interested in the problems of adjusting people to their environment and to the changing character of rural civilization."

High school, hardware, newspaper, banking, clothing, and R.F.D. service areas were mapped out by plotting data obtained from personal interviews; and field schedules and composite service areas were determined by superimposing one map upon another. It was found that the high school community tended to coincide more closely with the composite of the various basic services than did any other single service area. Since the Department of Agriculture and other agencies working with local groups are necessarily interested in determining functional communities, this tendency would seem particularly significant and, from both a research and a practical viewpoint, would warrant more emphasis.

Forces Influencing Rural Life—A Study of a Central Pennsylvania Community² is based upon personal interviews with the 434 families. Data concerning

¹ J. F. Thaden, The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities, Michigan AESB 302 (East Lansing, March, 1940). 50 pp.

² M. E. John, Forces Influencing Rural Life—A Study of a Central Pennsylvania Community, Pennsylvania AESB 388 (State College, February, 1940). 28 pp.

population composition, social participation, education, suggestions for community improvement, and other facts were gathered. The area which later became the community was settled by Scotch-Irish and Germans from 1770 to 1875. It went through a period of rapid expansion and development from 1875 to 1910 but has since been on the decline. This decline has led to the emigration of the young people to find work, immigration of unemployed and unskilled, a decline in church and other participation, and the development of an attitude of "hopelessness."

Kansas Rural Communities—A Study of Nemaha County³ represents the work of members of the staff of the Division of Farm Population in the United States Department of Agriculture done at the request of and for the county and state land use planning committees. Previous to the delineation of the neighborhoods and communities by the Division staff, the county agent and county planning committees were confronted with the necessity of working with a large number of arbitrarily determined areas they called communities. Delineation resulted in the reduction of the number of centers from 21 to 14; and, whereas previously only about one-third of the people were reached in the 21 centers, by using the 14 communities it became possible to contact almost everyone.

These "functional" neighborhoods and communities to be used in the county planning process were delineated during a five-day period by personal interview with local leaders and officials and key families living in the various neighborhoods. The 14 communities which were delimited were described, as were the historical settlements of the German and Irish groups. The local school district was found in most cases to actually constitute the rural neighborhood, a finding which is significant for this area.

The following statement emphasizes the importance of determining the functional groupings for the county planning process: "County planning is likely to be successful to the extent that the county planning committees are actually representative of the areas they were meant to serve. On the other hand, if the county committees are selected without any regard for the natural community groupings, they may so inadequately represent many of the farmers in the county as to prevent the carrying out of any proposed action program. In other words, each community should have a representative on the county committee who can express the interests of that particular community and who, therefore, can claim the cooperation of the people living in it in carrying out a unified program for the county as a whole."

County Land Use Planning⁴ is No. 1 in a series of Bureau of Agricultural Economics circulars written to describe and give the background for the county planning movement. The bulletin ends with the statement: "Having farmers

⁸ Kansas Rural Communities—A Study of Nemaha County, USDA BAE and Kansas AES (Amarillo, Texas, June, 1940). Mimeographed, 30 pp.

⁴ County Land Use Planning, USDA County Planning Series No. 1 (Washington, D. C., 1940). 12 pp. Other circulars in this series are: Membership of Land Use Planning Committees, No. 2; and The Land Use Planning Organization, No. 3.

participate in planning means a lot of work, and some people are asking why the Department of Agriculture or the State colleges, for instance, should not send technicians into a county, make the surveys, figure out scientifically what the county's plans ought to be, and then just announce the results.

"The reasons are plain: In the first place, the 'hand-me-down' idea of doing things is not the way of a democracy; and, in the second, this is simply not a job for technicians alone. It is one for the joint concern of farmers, technicians, and program administrators. And the key to success in the entire task is to obtain the benefit of local knowledge and opinions about local problems and conditions, together with local support and participation in planning agricultural programs and goals."

Community Relations in Urban Low-Rent Housing⁵ is the first report of the Committee on Community Relations in Housing Developments. Recommendations include provisions for integrating new developments into the existing structure of communities and organization of democratic groups to develop educational, recreational, health, social, church, safety, and other facilities under the guidance of the various governmental agencies. Since it is recognized that the various housing agencies of the Federal Government have over-emphasized construction to the detriment of the nurturing of community life, it is to be hoped that this report will result in changed policies.

A study of two new German settlements in Mecklenburg⁶ describes the cooperatives, the social life, and economic activities of the families. The author lived and worked with the peasants to get farm management data from 9 families who were originally from the province of Württemberg. Of special interest is the observation that, although the Württemberger families (who were settled in a small "line" village or on isolated holdings) first objected to separation because they thought they preferred the closed villages to which they were accustomed, they later preferred to be located nearer their land holdings, because of economic reasons. Although electricity for the more scattered form of settlement would cost some 82 Reichs' Marks more for each holding than for the closed village settlement, fire and bomb hazards were lessened where the isolated holdings prevailed. Since the Nazis first argued in favor of closed villages for resettlement communities, these observations in a publication which devotes considerable space to proving that past Nazi resettlement activities were much more effective than those of the period immediately preceding Hitler's coming to power, are important.

Of interest also is the observation that after settlement the Württembergers did not attend church so much as had been their custom before settlement. This is explained on the basis that the church services of the Swabians, many of whom

⁸ Community Relations in Urban Low-Rent Housing, National Association of Housing Officials Publication No. N123 (Chicago, Illinois, May, 1940). Mimeographed, 19 pp.

⁶ Gustav Haist, Erfahrungen und Erfolge eines Betriebsjahres in Zwei Wurttembergischen Siedlerdörfern Mecklenburgs, Druck von Friedrich Find Söhme, Plieningen-Stuttgart, 75 pp.

had been laborers on the estates which were broken up for settlement, did not suit the newcomers. Also the Württembergers imitated the Swabians' practice of working on Sunday, a practice the latter followed to enable them to care for their own gardens when not working for the large estate holders.

Among the county planning reports received this quarter was the Annual Report of Unified Program, Adair County, Agricultural Planning Committee, Adair County, Iowa.⁷ Such other county reports as are available may be had by writing to the Division of Economic Information, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

POPULATION MIGRATION

Migrants—A National Problem and Its Impact on California,⁸ a California Chamber of Commerce Report based upon many studies, for which only scanty recognition is given, claims that "over the past ten years, net migration into this State, that is, arrivals less departures, has been more than 1,200,000 persons, according to best available estimates. More than 75 per cent of these, or 850,000, have arrived in the last five years, since January, 1935. A majority of them have been in the younger working age group. At least half of them represent additions to the potentially employable labor force."

Concerning the qualities of the group, the report states that "It is believed that the group as a whole does not possess unsatisfactory work habits but that they are probably accustomed to a slightly slower tempo of work than is expected in California. This is due to the fact that in the states from which they have migrated they have been, in many instances, tenant farmers who were masters of their own time, and who adjusted their work habits to the nature of the agricultural operations in which they were engaged.

The committee's view is that as a whole the group is anything but shiftless, and that the majority are anxious to secure and retain employment. There are, of course, many conspicuous exceptions to any such generalized description."

As factors causing migration in the states of origin, the committee discusses the following: high birth rates and surplus population; drought, soil erosion, and agricultural depression; mechanization and agricultural readjustment; inadequate local relief and welfare aids in the home states; and increased mobility of population. The committee recommends that the migration be reduced by extending federal relief programs in states of origin, removing "glaring" inequalities in local relief aids, integrating programs of federal and state agencies, issuing warnings as to lack of jobs in California, and urging Arizona to stop recruiting in states of origin.

Oklahoma Farm Population Changes in 19389 have been estimated from re-

⁸ Migrants—A National Problem and Its Impact on California, California State Chamber of Commerce (California, May, 1940). 51 pp.

⁴ Annual Report of Unified Program, Adair County Agricultural Planning Committee, Adair County, Iowa, May 17, 1940 (Ames, May, 1940). Mimeographed, 42 pp.

⁹ "Oklahoma Farm Population Changes in 1938," Current Farm Economics, Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2, Oklahoma AES (Stillwater, February-April, 1940). 10 pp.

ports of 1,197 correspondents who represented 5,490 farms. According to the estimate, 275,000 persons (or 28 per cent of the total farm population) moved to a new farm during the year, as compared with 27 per cent for 1937. The intensity of movements from farms to nonfarm areas, from farms to farms, and other population data for counties are graphically described.

The People of Dolores County, Colorado, 10 are extremely mobile. A study conducted cooperatively by school officials and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, based upon complete enumeration made in 1939, for the most part by local citizens, indicated that over half of the people present in the county in 1939 had moved there during or since 1930, and that from one-half to two-thirds of the people present in 1930 had either died or moved out by 1939. These movements have increased the proportion of young people in the population and decreased the proportion of aged persons and males of working age. Annual school census data indicate similar trends and substantiate the conclusion that forecasting of future school enrollment without knowledge of in-and-out migrations is very difficult.

Under the title, The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population, 11 causes, types, volume, and consequences of movements of people are discussed. The recent western migrations are discussed and studied to prove the fallacy of the prevalent notion that emigrés from Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas were exclusively from dust bowl counties.

According to an Arkansas Experiment Station bulletin,¹² "the population process from 1930 to 1935 was in the direction of maladjustment rather than adjustment," because farm population increase and congestion were greatest in those areas which were already overpopulated and where the farm base was poorest. From 1920 to 1930, on the other hand, the overcrowded upland sent population to areas of greater opportunity in Arkansas and other states. Indices of population pressure based upon productive area, wealth, and income as related to population are presented by the author.

Rural Population Density in the Southern Appalachians¹⁸ has been graphically described on a map so that account is taken of "changes in the natural environment and changes in the population density itself, as far as they can be discerned from the evidence furnished by the source material and can be expressed within the limitations imposed by the scale of the map." The region was broken into

¹⁰ The People of Dolores County, Colorado, USDA and Colorado AES (Amarillo, Texas, March, 1940). Mimeographed, 22 pp.

¹¹ Otis Durant Duncan, The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population, Oklahoma AES Circular 88 (Stillwater, May, 1940). 22 pp.

¹² William H. Metzler, *Population Trends and Adjustments in Arkansas*, Arkansas AESB 388 (Fayetteville, May, 1940). 59 pp.

¹⁸ Francis J. Marschner, Rural Population Density in the Southern Appalachians, USDA MP 367 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). 18 pp.

2,435 tracts, each averaging 45 square miles. Area of minor civil divisions was calculated from maps; population numbers were furnished by minor civil divisions from census reports; and "cartometric operations were controlled by the independently computed areas of quadrilaterals of 5' extent in latitude and longitude." In the map 11 gradient colors were used to indicate density per square mile. Boundaries of color areas were determined by both physiographic and cultural factors. Thus the older form of map on which population density is indicated by dots (each indicating a number of people) or progressive shading of political divisions (corresponding to a graduated scale of average groups) is supplanted by a new cartographic feature which allows for a more realistic portrayal of density within areas not bounded by political lines.

In the summary the author states that "there are areas which may be considered as conforming to the premises that the greater adaptability of the land to farming is responsible for the denser population, or conversely, that because the land is poorly adapted to farming the population is sparse. But the exceptions are too many to establish such a relationship as the prevailing rule."

CULTURE AND CULTURAL AREAS

A "New Design for Forest Fire Prevention in the South," where 90 per cent of all forest fires are caused by man, has been developed from a study of 200 families located in a typical southern forest. The original study, "Getting at the Roots of Man-Caused Forest Fires," with its recommendations, although made by a psychologist, deals primarily with group phenomena and is a sociological and cultural anthropological investigation. The basic method used in the study was "the controlled interview" which "may be compared roughly to playing a game fish with a reel of not-too-strong fishing line."

In this study we are not dealing with Germans. According to the author, the denizens of the southern forests come from an Anglo-Saxon stock with the southern disbelief in the merits of hard work. They are proud and sensitive even though they stand at the bottom of the southern class or caste system. "Like their ancestors they 'takes no sass off'n nobody.' They 'insults easy' and they 'shoots quick.' " According to the author, "many of these frustrated people allow themselves to become careless and dirty in their persons. Most men go unshaved, women look bedraggled, and many of their houses are disordered and unsanitary. Farm implements and tools are allowed to rust by farmers who 'see no way out.' Such persons, though literate, neglect to read. Most of them neglect to play musical instruments and to cultivate handicrafts."

The study reveals that burning woods is traditional with the southern forest people who battle the forests to keep their small plots of land free. Since game reserves are depleted, making hunting and fishing (which were traditional

¹⁵ John P. Shea, "Getting at the Roots of Man-Caused Forest Fires," USDA (Washington, D. C., March, 1940).

¹⁴ John P. Shea, "New Design for Forest Fire Prevention in the South," a paper read before 65th Annual Meeting of the American Forestry Association, February 1-3, 1940, Biloxi, Mississippi.

sources of diversion and food supply) futile pursuits, forest fires furnish an important source of recreation. The people think burning the woods kills off the boll weevil, helps produce better cotton crops, kills off snakes, destroys ticks, kills bean beetles, keeps their fields from being choked up with brush, makes grass grow better and quicker, keeps them healthy by killing "fever germs," and is the best way to keep the woods "clean." "Woods burning is 'right.' We have always done it. Our fathers and grandfathers burned the woods. It was 'right' for them and it is the 'right' thing for us to do."

After psychological fashion the author analyzes the following basic urges and drives: (1) need for income (economic); (2) need for social belongingness (including recreations); (3) need for prestige; (4) need or craving for religion; (5) craving for excitement (this cuts through all the other urges); and (6) need for security. Since the first four "needs" are not met, conflict develops, resulting in "frustration," which in turn leads to setting of forest fires and "Human Cussedness."

To deter these people from setting fires, the author writes, "We can not win their cooperation by locking horns with them in their beliefs. And mere propaganda and prohibitions against such deepseated beliefs are about as effective as a populur against an elephant."

It is recommended that the fire-setting habit be "blocked off" and punishment for fire setting made quick and sure. A community program with movies, fishing, and hunting sponsored by a community center with a Forest Officer who can "whittle" and "spit" with the people (particularly the "Pappies" who control all in this culture) is designed to develop new habits to supplant the old fire-setting activities.

Rural Regions of the United States¹⁶ is a Work Projects Administration publication which classifies the 3,070 counties of the United States into 32 general rural-farm regions and 218 rural-farm subregions. Also the same counties were combined into 34 general rural regions which take into account the characteristics of the rural-nonfarm population. From the regions typical counties have been designated to represent the nation. Since many agencies have already used the preliminary report of this work for research and administrative purposes, its appearance in printed form will be welcomed.

The regions were delimited in such a manner as to attain the maximum of homogeneity in each with respect to the following seven factors:

"(1) A rural-farm plane-of-living index combining the average value of the farm dwelling, the percent of farms having automobiles, the percent of farm homes having electric lights, the percent having running water piped into the house, the percent having telephones, and the percent having radios, 1930.

"(2) A rural-farm population fertility index constructed by computing the ratio of children under 5 years of age to women 20-44 years of age, 1930.

"(3) Percent of farms producing less than \$1,000 gross income, 1929.

¹⁶ A. R. Mangus, Rural Regions of the United States, WPA Special Report (Washington, D. C., 1940). 230 pp.

- "(4) Percent of farm tenancy, 1935.
- "(5) Land value per capita of the rural-farm population, 1930.
- "(6) Percent of farm produce consumed on farms, 1929.
- "(7) Percent of rural families residing on farms, 1930."

The factors of more localized importance were:

- "(1) Percent Negroes constituted of the total rural-farm population in the South, 1930.
- "(2) Percent 'other races' constituted of the total rural-farm population in the Southwest, 1930.
- "(3) Percent farm wage workers constituted of all agricultural workers in the West, 1930.

"In addition, physiographic features were taken into account in places where these were prominent elements."

These factors were chosen after statistical analysis had demonstrated that each was highly related to a large number of other cultural factors and that they were not highly related one with another. This statistical analysis was comparable to that of Lively and Almack¹⁷ for Ohio. It indicated that the plane-of-living index and the population fertility ratio were the "most pertinent" county indices used in the delimitation. Maps showing regions and subregions are included.

The Cultural Approach in Extension Work, 18 according to the new Director of Extension in the United States Department of Agriculture, involves the consideration that "the core of any culture is the value system which is not nearly so subject to change as the technological or economic aspects of our life. It would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance of these value systems. Here are bound together the ideas which give meaning to the activities, the stresses, and strains of everyday life. Frequently they are difficult to detect, but anything that challenges them is likely to meet with resistance or open hostility. The fact that the value systems, like other parts of the culture, are acquired almost as easily as the oxygen we breathe, makes it more difficult to be fully aware of them and always to take them into account. The mere fact that they are anchored so deeply below all the speech reactions and the rationalizations of everyday life, however, makes it very important that they be recognized and understood."

Indians and the Land¹⁰ is the title of a symposium with the following articles:

"Conservation of Soil and Water in the Americas," by H. H. Bennett

"Farm Tenancy and Related Problems," by M. L. Wilson

"The Indian and the Land," by Allan G. Harper

¹⁷ C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio, Ohio AESB 106 (Columbus, January, 1938). This method was reviewed in detail in RURAL SOCIOLOGY, June, 1938.

¹⁸ M. L. Wilson, Cultural Approach in Extension Work, USDA Extension Service Circular 332 (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 12 pp.

¹⁹ Indians and the Land, First Inter-American Conference on Indian Life (Patzcuaro, Mexico, April, 1940). Mimeographed, 75 pp.

"Regional Planning for Indians and Spanish Americans by the Interdepartmental Rio Grande Board," by Walter V. Woehlke

"Credit for Indian Landholders in Mexico and the United States," by Alida C. Bowler

"Legal Aspects of Land Acquisition," by Charlotte Tuttle Westwood
In these articles the plight of the Spanish-American civilization in the Southwest
is dramatized. The population in the upper Rio Grande Watershed, which is
said to be denser than that of any other cultivated area of similar size in the
United States or even in England, has been caught in the vise of commercialization.

"The Anglo-American pioneers, individualists, strong, lusty, fearless and myopic, aggressive representatives of the money economy of an expanding society, brought with them capital, credit, markets, rails, all the financial and mechanical tools for the exploitation of the region. With these tools they proceeded to compete for the use of the watershed's resources which, in 1850, were already supporting a settled agricultural and pastoral population of more than 60,000 Spanish-Americans and Indians."

The greatest loss to the natives from the onslaught of the "gringoes" was that of their free-grazing privileges on some 8,750,000 acres as of 1860. But in 1860 one railroad alone received a grant of 2,000,000 acres, most of which went under the control of commercial livestock companies. Sixty per cent of the 2,500,000 acres of national forests now offer summer range for commercial operators. As state and other lands came under the control of commercial operators, the available range shrank to less than one-fourth its original size. As a result the native population living on small irrigated holdings to which they cling like leeches were forced first to work for wages on railroads, ranches, or in the north in beet fields or factories and then to go on relief. "Fifty-five per cent of all the livestock was owned by 238 commercial operators. At this time the Federal Government was spending \$3,600,000 for relief to the rural population of 92,000." "With the principal source of cash income, the sale of labor seasonally on the out-of-State market either closed or seriously curtailed from 1930 to the present day, the subsistence population failed to meet these cash obligations, and deeds to 4,000 tracts of land passed into the hands of the State Tax Commission."

Indian land tenure problems are summed up as follows: "Indian land tenure problems in the United States are of a highly technical character. They relate particularly to lands owned in severalty, and their satisfactory solution is a sine qua non of placing the Indian owners upon a basis of economic self-sufficiency. Tenure problems related to the tribally owned lands are of relatively small difficulty. On the allotted land, however, they are the roots of problems of proper land use, conservation, and the very economic recovery of whole tribes."

The report of an anthropological investigation covering the tribal organizations, marriage, child rearing, education, fiestas, funerals, household economy, architecture, medical practices, and physical characteristics and practices of the Yaqui Indians in Mexico has been received.²⁰ The difficulties which the Mexican government has encountered in its attempt to control this tribe and the mistakes which officials have made are given incidental attention.

A German Ph.D. Thesis²¹ describes the customs, economy, folk lore, and other cultural characteristics as well as racial traits and life of the people in the upper Rhone valleys. Like the many descriptions of rural culture coming from Germany since the Nazis came to power, the lives of these people are considerably romanticized. Settlement patterns, farmstead and house arrangements, handicrafts, gardens, inheritance systems, dress and customs, mental attitudes, beliefs, festivals, and other traits of the culture are described.

LOCAL COMMUNITY AGENCIES AND FACILITIES

Twenty-two weekly newspapers considered representative of those of the State of Washington in 1938 were found to devote the largest portion of their space (41 per cent) to advertising;²² news dissemination accounted for the second largest portion of space (32 per cent); magazine material (reading matter of a not immediately timely nature, which nevertheless contains a considerable human-interest appeal) made up 21 per cent of the total space; and 6 per cent was devoted to material discharging the opinion function of the newspaper. In comparing the content of papers published in 1937 with those published in 1915-16, it was found that "advertising and news both decreased between 1915-16 and 1937 in the proportions of total space they occupied, magazine material increased greatly, and opinion material increased slightly. The combination of news and opinion material, representing the social function of the newspaper, indicates that the weeklies in the earlier period gave a larger proportion of their space (42.8 per cent) to social material than they did in the later period (35.9 per cent)."

"The extent to which the weekly paper is a local organ is shown by the fact that somewhat over two-thirds of its advertising was local and three-fourths of its news was of town plus country origin, town news predominating. Papers published in towns of 1,000 or more population were found to contain considerably larger proportions of local material than were their contemporaries published in smaller centers."

The findings in this study are compared with those from studies of 20 Virginia weeklies and 35 Michigan papers.

Public Health Facilities²³ available to families in South Dakota are discussed in an Experiment Station bulletin. Death rates and causes are also discussed, and graphic descriptions of location and availability of various types of county

²⁰ W. C. Holden et al., Studies of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, Mexico, Texas Technological College Bulletin Scientific Series No. 2 (Lubbock, Texas, January, 1936). 142 pp.

²¹ Aloys Winterling, Die bäuerliche Lebens—und Sittengemeinschaft der Hohen Rhön, Inaugural-Dissertation, Universität Köln Buchdruckerei Orthen, Köln, 1939.

²² Carl F. Reuss, Content of Washington Weekly Newspapers, Washington AESB 387 (Pullman, February, 1940). 48 pp.

²⁸ W. F. Kumlien, Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota, V. Public Health Facilities, South Dakota AESB 334 (Brookings, March, 1940). 30 pp.

health services, hospitals, physicians, dentists, pharmacists, and utilization of these are included. The increasing importance of public and group health facilities is emphasized. There were 20,000 families participating in the Farm Security Administration medical aid program in 1938, and in 1939 one-third of the farm families of the state were eligible for medical aid.

A United States Office of Education bulletin describes the public educational system in the Canal Zone.²⁴ Approximately half of the population of the Canal Zone and slightly more than half of the children enrolled in the school are colored. Because of similarity in economic status among the white families in the Canal Zone, there is greater homogeneity among the children in the schools than is found in the "States." The school program is very similar to that in the "States," thus facilitating transference of children between Canal Zone schools and those in the United States. This is particularly important, for most of the white people are United States citizens and many still consider themselves citizens of one or another of the 48 states.

Rural Electrification Surveys of Harvey and Dickinson Counties²⁵ are reports based upon personal interviews with farmers and ratings of farmsteads by investigators while "driving" through the rural areas. The report discourages complete electrification of the county because: (1) "Under the present condition of agriculture and the attitude of farmers toward electric service, it is difficult to get all farmers to join the lines and use service." (2) "The type of farming practiced by a majority of the farmers does not provide many uses for electricity outside of the home." (3) There is a definite tendency toward larger farms in these areas thus increasing the cost of lines per unit. (4) "The income derived from the sale of electricity to farms alone is scarcely enough to make the lines profitable. If these lines are profitable for the power companies, it must be due to other rural customers such as filling stations, schools, churches, etc., and also to small towns served by the same lines."

Other conclusions are: In each county some 600 more farms can be supplied with electricity on the basis on which it is now being purchased. Electric service from the power line is less expensive than from the private plant.

A Study of Churches of Culpeper County, Virginia²⁶ recommends that "the rural church must become an integral part of the community life, spiritually, socially, mentally—it must lend guidance and inspiration for better rural planning and rural life—it must supplement the economic well-being of man." It also presents data concerning memberships, ministers, and programs of 35 white churches.

²⁴ Katherine M. Cook, *Public Education in the Panama Canal Zone*, U. S. Department of Interior, Bulletin 1939, No. 8 (Washington, D. C., 1939). 63 pp.

²⁵ F. C. Fenton and D. E. Wiant, Rural Electrification Surveys of Harvey and Dickinson Counties, Kansas Engineering Experiment Station, Bulletin 39 (Manhattan, May, 1940). 48 pp.

²⁶ Douglas Ensminger and John S. Page, A Study of Churches of Culpepper County, Virginia, USDA (Washington, D. C., July, 1940). Mimeographed, 23 pp.

A Rural School Area in Central South Carolina²⁷ is the second of a series of studies made of selected rural school areas in South Carolina. The purpose was to ascertain facts relative to the family, homes, and schools of a rural community, with the hope of "throwing some light on the economic and social conditions of the families, the conditions under which the schools operate, and the educational achievement of the children." Both the educational attainment of the pupils and the economic level of the families were found to be low, with 61 per cent of the elementary pupils repeating one or more grades. The chief recommendations were consolidation and the substitution of educational for lay management.

A Study of 4-H Local Leadership in South Carolina²⁸ found the average tenure of 114 leaders in six counties to be 3.8 years. Sixty-two per cent of the leaders were teachers. Sixty-eight per cent of all leaders had schooling beyond high school, and 84 per cent were graduated from high school. Eighty-two per cent were reared on a farm; 45 per cent received training in agriculture or home economics in high school or college; 38 per cent had themselves been 4-H members. The median age was 32 years.

Twenty-two egg and poultry auction associations—with 13,000 active members in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island—have been studied by the Farm Credit Administration.²⁹ From personal interviews with 601 active members, the membership attitudes were studied. Fifty-three per cent of those interviewed gave higher prices as their reasons for joining. Other reasons listed were: more dependable sales outlet; new, special, or surplus outlet; more financially reliable outlet; convenience; and other advantages. Ninety per cent of the members interviewed were personally acquainted with the auction manager. When the members were asked to what extent they sold to other buyers when offered higher prices, 56 per cent replied that they would not sell elsewhere than to the auctions even when higher prices were offered; and 32 per cent indicated that they would accept higher prices.⁸⁰

Of 54 Oklahoma cooperative associations⁸¹ which were defunct in 1937, 20

²⁷ Henry L. Fulmer, A Rural School Area in Central South Carolina, South Carolina AESB 325 (Clemson, March, 1940). 44 pp.

Leon O. Clayton, A Study of 4-H Local Leadership in South Carolina, USDA Extension Service Circular 325 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 28 pp.
 John J. Scanlan and Roy W. Lennartson, Cooperative Egg and Poultry Auction Asso-

ciations, FCAB 37 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 101 pp.

30 Other Farm Credit Administration studies of farm cooperatives received this quarter were the following: Gerald M. Francis, Cooperative Purchasing by Indiana Farmers Through Federated County Farm Bureau Associations, FCAB 38 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 84 pp.; Paul E. Quintus and T. G. Stitts, Butter Marketing by Cooperative Creameries in the Middle West, FCAB 36 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 66 pp.; Delmer D. Brubaker, Cooperative Creamery Accounting, FCAB 39 (Washington, D. C., June, 1939). 99 pp.; R. C. Dorsey, Farmer Co-ops in Virginia, Baltimore Bank for Cooperatives (Baltimore, Maryland, January, 1939). 19 pp.

⁸¹ "Listed Causes of Failure of Oklahoma Farm Cooperatives," Current Farm Economics, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1 and 2, Oklahoma AES (Stillwater, February-April, 1940). 10 pp.

reported lack of volume or drought as the major cause of quitting business. Also bad management and disloyalty of members were important contributing causes for failure of cooperatives.

FARM TENANCY

In a study describing the Legal Aspects of Farm Tenancy in Illinois³² recommendations are made for a farm tenancy code, which among other things makes a "clear distinction between farm and urban tenancy than that which exists under present laws," and states as a manner of law that the following duties exist on the part of the tenant: to use proper methods of tillage, destroy weeds, spread manure, keep tile outlets and drainage ditches open, make reasonable repairs where no cash outlay is involved and where an unusual amount of labor is not required, and cause no destruction or impairment to the land or property through neglect or improper management. Also the code would state that the duties on the part of the landlord are: to repair buildings and fences, insure the undisturbed occupancy of the tenant by the payment of all taxes and assessments against the property, and maintain adequate drainage, a satisfactory water supply, and such minimum standards of housing as are prescribed by law.

RURAL YOUTH

The White House Conference on *Children in a Democracy*, ³⁸ meeting in 1940 to review what is being done and what ought to be done for the nation's children, in its report made recommendations concerning the local and federal governments' obligations to children: financial, housing, religious, educational, recreational, health, and employment.

A study⁸⁴ has been made "to discover just what are the educational contributions of nationally organized clubs for girls of school age." The organizations were classified as follows: Protestant; Catholic; Jewish; patriotic, political, fraternal, and labor; leisure, recreation, and special interest organizations. The objectives of the various organizations vary widely, and approximately one-sixth of those studied had been formed since 1930.

A statement concerning Child Labor in Agriculture³⁵ was submitted by the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau to a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate. In this report are included discussions of the extent of child labor in agriculture, the conditions under which children employed in agriculture must work and live, lack of

³² W. H. Hannah and Joseph Ackerman, Legal Aspects of Farm Tenancy in Illinois, Illinois AESB 465 (Urbana, April, 1940). 34 pp.

³⁸ Children in a Democracy, General Report of White House Conference (Washington, D. C., 1940). 86 pp.

³⁴ Helen Gilchrist Fudge, Girls' Clubs of National Organization in the United States— Their Development and Present Status (Philadelphia, 1939). 349 pp.

³⁵ Child Labor in Agriculture, Statement of Beatrice McConnell, Director, Industrial Division, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor (Washington, D. C., May, 1940). Mimeographed, 66 pp.

educational opportunities, and the attempts at legal regulation of agricultural child labor by state and federal governments.

The National Child Labor Committee has published the third in its series of studies of migratory children. This bulletin presents a discussion of strawberry migrants of the mid-section of the Mississippi valley, whose increasing numbers are attributed to the disintegration of the tenancy system in southern cotton culture. One of the most striking aspects of the problem is the influence of migratory life upon the education of the children. "Thirty-six per cent of the migrant children of school age had not attended school a single day in the calendar year preceding the study. The average number of weeks attended by those who had gone to school was 17.2, or a matter of 86 days."

Pennsylvania State College has published a study of 54 young men, former students of vocational agriculture, who left high school before graduation and were farming at the time of the study.³⁷ It was found that these boys had relatively low I.Q.'s and were retarded in school. "A comparatively large number reject farming as an occupation and try other ways of earning their living, but eventually they gravitate back, generally to the rural community where they were reared and gained their early farm experience." Recommendations for helping this type of boy to make his vocational adjustment are presented.

FAMILY LIVING

From 800 field interview records in 3 Oklahoma counties, The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families³⁸ has been completed. Chapin's definition (quoted by Sewell) of socio-economic status is "the position that an individual or family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions and participation in the group activities of the community."

The effectiveness of over 200 items in measuring these four components of socio-economic status was considered. On the basis of judgment all but 123 of these were discarded as ineffective. The method used in reducing the 123 items to the 36 retained in the standardized scale was the following:

(1) Each of the 800 schedules was scored by adding up the number of 123 items listed which the family from whom the schedule was taken actually had.
(2) Using these scores the 800 schedules were divided into four groups, each with 200 schedules in such a manner that the first quartile contained the 200 lowest-scoring schedules, the second the next highest, etc. (3) In each group the percentage of the 200 records reporting the possession of each item was com-

87 C. S. Anderson, Out-of-school Rural Youth Enter Farming, Pennsylvania AESB 385 (State College, January, 1940). 26 pp.

³⁸ William H. Sewell, The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families, Oklahoma AESB Technical Bulletin 9 (Stillwater, April, 1940). 88 pp.

³⁶ Raymond G. Fuller, *Children in Strawberries*, National Child Labor Committee Publication 380 (New York, March, 1940). 22 pp.

puted. For instance, the possession of "separate living room" was reported in "5.5, 25.0, 48.0, and 82.5 percent of the schedules in quartiles 1, 2, 3, 4, respectively." (4) To determine the efficacy of each item in measuring socioeconomic status, the percentage difference in the occurrence of each item between successive and extreme quartiles was calculated. (5) "This yielded four quartile percentage difference figures for each item in the experimental schedule, as follows: 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, and 1 and 4. [For separate living room these percentages were:] 19.5, 23.0, 34.5, and 77.0." When these percentages were high in relation to the standard error, they were kept. Specifically, when the critical ratio (ratio of each of these percentage differences to its standard error) was less than 2, the item was discarded. (6) Items which were retained were weighted so that the more infrequent the occurrence of a given item among the 800 schedules, the larger the weight applied to it. The scale was duly tested and "it was concluded that it measures the socio-economic status of Oklahoma farm families and therefore may be considered a valid measuring instrument."

The report includes summary appraisals of other previously constructed socioeconomic scales.

A Study of Housing Needs of Renting Families and Available Rental Facilities in Ontario, Oregon,⁸⁹ based upon interviews with 70 families, many of whom were migratory laborers for farm and construction work, indicates housing preferences of renters. The one-story, single-family house with a basement and a minimum-sized yard of two city lots was preferred.

CONFERENCES PERTAINING TO RURAL LIFE

The proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Agriculture, 40 held in Germany, 1939, have been published in nine sections consisting of as many separate bulletins. Of these, three are of particular interest to rural sociologists. Section 2, entitled "Agricultural Instruction and Propaganda," includes reports on the following topics by Germans, a Belgian, and an Italian. "New Methods and Results of Agricultural Training and Instruction"; "Development, Progress and Importance of the System of Giving Advice on Agricultural Matters"; "Object-Lessons and Demonstrations in Agricultural Schools"; and "Broadcasting and Films in the Service of Agriculture." An example of the conclusions is the following taken from the report of the first topic:

"If we examine which influences most permanently act upon the young peasant in later life, it seems as if we must ascribe about 40-50 percent to the teacher, 30-40 percent to the books, and to everything else: class-room equipment, collections, school farm, etc., about 20-30 percent. I arrived at these conclusions as general inspector of agricultural schools in the former Czecho-Slovakian Republic."

⁸⁹ Ruth P. Chindgren, A Study of Housing Needs of Renting Families and Available Rental Facilities in Ontario, Oregon, Oregon State College Thesis Series No. 13 (Corvallis, March, 1940). Mimeographed, 64 pp.

⁴⁰ Congres International D'Agriculture, 18th Congress, Main Reports (Dresden, June, 1939). 402 pp.

Section 3, "Agricultural Cooperative Societies," includes three topics entitled: "The Tasks of the Agricultural Cooperative Societies in The Economic Policy of the State," "The Cooperative Societies for Agricultural Production," and "The Processing of Fruit and Vegetables by Cooperative Societies," which were written by Finnish, Jugoslavian, and Bulgarian representatives. Davidović, author of the second topic, claims that: "Apart from the works of the well-known Russian economist Tchaianov, and those of the Hungarian Professor K. Ihrig, there is hardly any other literature, as far as we know, which contains a scientific analysis of the problem of agricultural cooperation. It is true, there are other authors, such as Emilianoff and Wolff, who have written on this subject but their works are of a descriptive rather than of an analytical nature, as is the case in most of the literature on the cooperative movement." He concludes that: "Cooperatives whose object it is to produce agricultural goods by joint labour have gained considerable importance, but their extension is, except for the fishermen's cooperatives, limited to certain geographical regions, as Russia and Palestine, where they stand under the strong influence either of the State or of international organizations."

Section 8, "Rural Life and the Work of the Countrywoman," includes the following topics: "Relation between Economic and Hygienic Position of the Rural Population," "Means and Measures to Lighten the Countrywoman's Work," "Peasant Culture and Its Importance in the Life of Nations," and "Practical Measures of Different Countries to Encourage Peasant Culture and Peasant Traditions," which were written by English, German, Belgium, and Swiss scholars. Among the most interesting quotations are the following taken from the third topic in this section: "Peasant culture is characteristically traditional. That is to say, it in the first place tries to keep the balance, considering this the basis of advancement, not the contrary. This first characteristic would suffice to explain its aim, in our period in which the economic crisis presents the same kind of problems to all statesmen. There was a time in which each advance in production mysteriously seemed to bring about the conditions for a future balance, which was to vastly surpass the past in its forms. But the economic and philosophic system known as "Fordisme" may be taken to have been the last manifestation of this optimistic frame of mind. Since then, in all countries, every advance is only looked upon as a subordinate factor for the possibility of keeping up a maximum balance. Formerly one considered every traditional point of view as radical inferiority, as a psychological disgrace, as the only human frame of mind deserving the name of "sin" in the age of enlightenment. Since a few years we again discover that traditions may shelter deep wisdom. We again learn to understand that it is not insignificant—who carries out a piece of work, nor what work is done and how it is done, and also that good results are often due to exertion whose innermost, secret impulse was tradition. "

Agricultural History in Relation to Current Agricultural Problems⁴¹ is a report of a conference on Agricultural History held in the Bureau of Agricultural

⁴¹ Agricultural History in Relation to Current Agricultural Problems, USDA (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 47 pp.

Economics in the United States Department of Agriculture. The conferees from the Department of Agriculture described their programs, and the historians within the Department and from outside indicated the assistance which history might offer in that program. Recommendations included the establishment of a National Agricultural Museum.

REHABILITATION

A summary analysis of Rural Rehabilitation Progress in Stearns County, Minnesota, 42 emphasizes the importance of the human factor in rehabilitation. According to the report, officials too frequently fail to consider personal or family peculiarities in devising farm and home plans. More emphasis should be placed upon long-time rehabilitation than immediate cash income.

The report states that "only those who have real possibilities of complete and permanent rehabilitation can be expected to repay their loans. Other less able families may deserve other types of public assistance but to include them in the rehabilitation program may deprive those who are more capable from participation. Young, ambitious, cooperative farmers constitute the most desirable rehabilitation materials." Recommendations are based upon analysis of use of borrowed funds, progress of clients, and other data from rehabilitation records.

GENERAL REPORTS

A Report of the Committee on Social and Economic Conditions in Alabama and Their Implications for Education⁴³ summarizes available information on the state's geography, population, religion, health, recreation, government schools, natural resources, and the exploitation of these. Among the data gathered are the following:

1. During the past generation Alabama has suffered "a net loss by migration of 382,763 persons more than have come from other states. If a reasonable estimate of \$2,000 is allowed as the cost of rearing and educating a person to the age of 20, this represents a loss to the state of three-fourths of a billion dollars in a generation."

2. "Of children 10 to 17 years old 24 percent are gainfully occupied as compared with 11.3 percent for the nation and 18.8 percent for the Southeastern region. Of these children nearly three-fourths are engaged in agricultural work, over 11 percent in industry and about 14 percent in distributive and social occupations. These facts reveal vital social and economic problems for education."

3. Approximately 90 per cent of rural homes are without refrigeration, while 9.7 per cent have ice boxes, and about 2 per cent have mechanical refrigeration.

4. "The average Alabama pupil enters junior high school with a preparation 1½ years short of the national average, and he enters college with a preparation cut short by two years."

⁴² Warren R. Bailey, Rural Rebabilitation Progress in Stearns County, Minnesota, USDA Farm Management Reports No. 3 (Washington, D. C., March, 1940). Mimeographed, 31 pp.

43 Report of the Committee on Social and Economic Conditions in Alabama and Their Implications for Education, Division of Instruction, State Department of Education (Montgomery, Alabama, May, 1937). 142 pp.

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

A Social and Economic Survey of Beadle County, South Dakota: A Study of Social Action in Boom and Depression Years in an Agricultural Community. By Beryl R. McClaskey. Chicago: Aragat Booksellers, 1940. xii, 260 pp. \$2.00.

Rural Regions of the United States. By A. R. Mangus. Washington: Division of Social Research, Work Projects Administration, 1940. x, 230 pp. Free.

We have here two additions to the growing literature of regionalism. Mc-Claskey's study deals with a county which is probably typical in a general way of the northwestern sector of the corn belt. It is more accurately described by the title than the subtitle. A summary of the settlement history of the county emphasizes the boom-depression pulsations; this is followed by brief demographic descriptions, the natural resources base, the business structure, types of farming, a picture of the debt and tax structure and the liquidation process, education, and social action and control. We get a clear picture of the economic structure, and the catastrophes of the '20's and '30's resulting from drouth and low prices are vividly portrayed. But somehow the book reads like a gazetteer. The author never comes to the point, sociologically speaking. She indicates ".... the points at which socio-economic behavior has proved inadequate," but she does not portray the processes, and most of the data are economic. Many years of residence and personal acquaintance in the county do not appear to have been sociologically useful to her. Another instance: She repeats that the townships vary in soils, farming methods, taxation, nationality, foreclosures, etc. But she never puts these facts together. No processes (unless it be over-valuation of land and consequent liquidation) issue from the data. We see some maladjustments of men-crops-nature, but we do not see them through a sociologist's eyes.

For many years true regional studies have been progressing from impressionistic and pseudo-ethnographic descriptions through a series of increasingly quantified and multifaceted comparisons. To descriptions of what factors characterize a region are being added measurements of how regional is a region, so to speak. Mangus' report merits unstinted praise, which he would happily share with his predecessors, Odum and Lively.

Mangus retells how the study of the distribution of innumerable items descriptive of rural conditions repeatedly revealed stable areal patterns over the whole country. This experience led to an effort to delimit these areas more carefully, to test their internal homogeneity, and to establish a useful sample of counties which could represent these areas individually or collectively. Rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and total rural populations were studied separately and comparatively; and some 200 subregions and 30 odd regions were set up. Each region is summarily described; appendices give the data for all variables for each region, subregion, and sample county.

The methodological aim throughout was to isolate a few variables, each highly correlated with many others but only slightly intercorrelated among themselves. The final factors chosen were: plane of living index (running water, auto, etc.), population fertility, income, tenancy, per capita value of land, percentage of products home used, percentage of rural families on farms—plus proportion of Negroes, other races, and farm laborers in special areas.

Tentatively beginning with type-of-farming areas, refinements were obtained by shifting counties back and forth until the mean deviation of all variables together within a region was a minimum. Within each region and subregion sample counties were picked to represent the median and one mean deviation above and below the median, and to total about 1 per cent of the population of the area.

This is a model study, and few additional comments are called for. Of merit is the use of county instead of state data. The regions obtained appear to agree well with those recognized by other workers or arrived at by less precise methods. It is asserted that although they were based on 1930 data they are probably permanent. For the future this cannot now be tested, but it would be eminently worthwhile to run analyses backwards in time. One is curious also why fertility should comprise part of the nonfarm set of variables. This study is rigidly empirical, and sociologists might well consider why the particular variables proved to delimit regions so reliably. And there are innumerable problems for research in the study of variations of traits not studied within regions demarked by the chosen items. Thus regionalism can proceed farther on the road to precision of meaning.

Iowa State College

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

The Races of Europe. Carleton Stevens Coon. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. 739 pp.

This volume bears the same title as the noted work of Ripley, published some 40 years ago. Certainly Ripley's work needs revision, in view of the great progress in anthropology and allied sciences since its publication. The present work is, however, more than a simple revision of the earlier classic. It is new both in content and in structure, adding, for example, materials on the Yemen of Albania and Morocco, and devoting fully six chapters to historical data.

The author states his fundamental theses in the introduction to the rich photographic supplement which illustrates the volume. These theses may be briefly summarized: (1) The representatives of the white race now living in Europe owe their initial differentiation to their dual origin. (2) Some (type A) are

descended from a mixture of two species, Homo Neanderthalensis and Homo Sapiens, and historically have lived in the subglacial zone and devoted themselves to the hunt and food collection. (3) Others (type B) are descendants of the Mediterranean populations, representing a pure Homo Sapiens type. These have devoted themselves historically to agriculture and cattle-raising. (4) Other groups, which in Europe are the more numerous, represent hybrid forms resulting from mixture of the two principal types, which are clearly differentiated according to very definite metrical and morphological principles. Among these principles a particularly important one is that which the author calls the "law of dinaricization," whereby a mixture of the dolichocephalic Mediterraneans and the brachicephalic Alpines, in certain proportions, produces a new type, different from both sources, and is classified as a race in itself: the "dinaric race." The author maintains, however, that the dinaric race is not a true race, but is the result of distinct crosses which can be distinguished by the various proportions of the cephalic elements. (5) Not all the mixtures lead to the dinaric type, for in many places there reappears type A, to be submerged in its time by an invasion of the Mediterraneans. (6) The racial composition of Europe is not at all constant, but always changing under the influence of: (a) environmental conditions, (b) migratory movements, and (c) social and economic selection. These transformations are to be found both in the sedentary populations and in the migratory movements.

One of the merits of this work is to have emphasized the phenomenon of re-emergence. The reviewer is particularly interested in this matter, since he has emphasized its importance during the past thirty years in his various works. Coon seems to be unaware of the existence of these books. Actually the phenomenon is not that of reappearance of the ancient type—inconceivable in view of the thousands of mixtures and the independence of the combination of characteristics—but the re-emergence of an analoguous type.

Another principle which is noted by the author, but not, to my way of thinking, adequately developed, is that of the *plasticity* of human types. The author does not sufficiently emphasize the importance of the orthogenetic tendency on the one hand and that of mutation on the other, neither of which is mentioned among the sources of modification of types, which are reduced to three: mixture, selection, and environment.

Certainly a shortcoming of the present volume is the absence of a discussion of the data, ever more abundant and precise, concerning blood-groups, which ought not to be separated from judgments concerning racial affinity and differentiation, the less so when the blood-group indications do not conform to the traditional classifications of race based on external characteristics.

The advantages and defects of Coon's work show it to be an outstanding study, marking a transition from the traditional, and in large part a priori, anthropological conceptions to the new conceptions which are being formed under the irresistible pressure of vast and better organized research and experimental results in the field of genetics. It is to be hoped that this edition will be followed

by a second, in which the advantages of the first will be developed and the lacunae filled.

University of Rome

CORRADO GINI

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The above review was translated and condensed from a longer Italian review made jointly for Genus, organ of the Italian Committee of Population Studies and Rural Sociology. The translation was made by Wilbert E. Moore, Harvard University. The importance of Dr. Coon's work to rural sociology cannot be overemphasized. Soil and Men and Food and Life [titles of the two most recent yearbooks of the United States Department of Agriculture] mean simply that rural life joins together agriculture and the population stock at their foundations.)

Youth—Millions Too Many: A Search for Youth's Place in America. By Bruce L. Melvin. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. New York: Association Press, 1940. 220 pp. \$2.00.

This is frankly a "pamphlet" for social action on the youth problem. It is written for the general public in a simple, forceful style which will command the reader's interest. Although not a report on research, it is based on the author's own investigations carried on under the Work Projects Administration, and makes use of most of the recent research literature in this field. Although not a sociological treatise, it is full of sociological material and contains many a challenge to the sociologist for the practical application of our present sociological knowledge to the solution of the problems involved, as well as for further research.

The author feels that there is need for the organization of youth and for a youth movement; yet he sees the dangers of institutionalization and the difficulty of integrating such a movement on a national basis. He wisely places his trust in local organization by communities, counties, and states, as the best basis for a possible national movement.

There is nothing strikingly new in the factual material for those familiar with the literature in this field, but it is presented in a clear-cut summary fashion which shows the relation of population trends, unemployment, inadequate programs of education and recreation, and the agencies which are attempting to deal with the problems of youth. He points out the possibilities of the county land use committees set up by the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Land Grant Colleges as agencies for studying this problem locally. "If planning for the use and conservation of the soil is worth while, then county planning for the future of young people is certainly of equal value."

One of his most convincing chapters includes a brief resumé of how the frustration of the idealism of the German youth movement made it a ready prey for the Nazi program. He suggests: "Were the historians to delve deeper into their tomes they probably would find that a neglected factor, if not a determining one in the rise and fall of states, was the role of youth," and he quotes a former leader of the German youth movement before the Nazi regime: "Tell me the situation of your youth today and I'll tell you the state of your nation tomorrow." Consequently he points out the danger of neglecting our youth

problem in a furor for national defense. In her ringing foreword Eleanor Roosevelt by implication upholds this position when she says: "In my estimation this book will show why the first question before us is action on the problems of youth."

This is a book which should be read by everyone with responsibility for meeting its challenge: congressmen, educators, clergymen, extension workers, and leaders of all organizations serving youth. Incidentally, it should be good required reading for classes in rural sociology, and should form an excellent text for discussion groups, not only of youth—as suggested by the author—but of granges, church young people's societies, women's clubs, and junior chambers of commerce.

The author is to be congratulated upon bringing to the general public the results of his own and other research from a sociological point of view, in a form which should arouse responsibility for meeting the issues raised.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Agrarian China: Selected Source Materials from Chinese Authors. A Report in the International Research Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations, with an Introduction by R. H. Tawney. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. xviii, 258 pp. \$2.50.

Studies by foreign scholars of remote countries, particularly by Westerners of Asia, for understandable reasons generally show signs of being superficial. On the other hand, much of the best materials published in the native languages are unaccessible to most of the foreign scholars and readers. As a result, this translation by the Institute of Pacific Relations of studies written by Chinese has an unusual value. A reader is surprised at the variety and number of subjects that were almost never discussed in the literature about China in Western countries. Only persons very well acquainted with local problems could have written them. This applies especially to the great many very interesting shorter writings on the actual social and economic situation in the different regions of China.

Titles of some articles of an unusual sociological interest include: Military Requisition and the Peasantry, by Wong Yin-seng, Hsieh Pin-hsien, and Shi Kai-fu; The Omnipotence of Opium in Fow-Chow Villages, by Chen Von-ko; Pawnshop and Peasantry, by Lo Kuo-hsian; The Decline of Chinese Handicrafts, by Lee Tse-tsian; Trade Capital and Silk Farming, by Chien Chao-hsuen; Peasant Women and Hand Weaving in Kiangyin, by Lo Chun; Two Hand Weaving Centers in Southernmost China, by Chen Nyi-kuan; and The Peasant Exodus from Western Shantung, by Hao Pun-sui. The first two chapters of the collection, which discuss land problems, especially land ownership, carry a wealth of new and yet unknown materials.

The work is defective in that it carries no maps or location charts. This is unfortunate because those not familiar with China cannot place the studies. After all, China is a great teeming land of many thousands of square miles and

of many hundreds of millions of people. The work also needs an index, a glossary of terms, and a philosophical analysis of the content. Of the many Chinese terms used, only mow, picul, and catty are explained in detail and these only incidentally. A philosophical analysis would be particularly helpful to the American who has forgotten the American residual of the feudal tenure, the Quit Rent system, and has almost no conception of a land system in which feesimple ownership of the whole right under a capitalistic payment and momentary contract between two "persons" do not predominate. Then again the work raises two further questions. How much of the rural trouble in China is due to the decay of a former well working system of "feudal" or pure rural custom tenure, and how much of the rural distress is due to exploitation by landlords and usurers? It seems that the interpretations of these young Chinese scholars overlook considerations of the first type.

Such as it is, this book is a real service to the American scholar of rural life and rural social problems. The Institute of Pacific Relations could have made it more usable to the reader and student, as indicated above. This remark applies for a number of very useful publications put out by the Institute in the course of the last few years.

University of California

NICHOLAS MIRKOWICH

Freedom of Thought in the Old South. By Clement Eaton. Durham: Duke University Press, 1940, 343 pp. \$3.00.

This volume might well be considered a companion to the one written a few years ago by Virginius Dabney, and entitled *Liberalism in the South*. The latter book concerns the contemporary scene, while Eaton's deals with the similar situation from "Jefferson to Calhoun." The author interprets the phrase "freedom of thought" in general as synonymous with Jefferson's characterization of the same concept as "the illimitable freedom of the human mind," and the "Old South" to mean "those states where slavery was a vital institution."

The thesis of the study in brief is to the effect that in the Colonial period and the earlier days of the Republic the dominant group in the Old South was a relatively small group of aristocratic planters, merchants, and lawyers, many of whom had been educated in Europe. These leaders were liberal in their political views, their attitude toward slavery, and in religious matters—the South, with its more cavalierly traditions, leading the more puritanical North in this respect. Exhaustion of soils on the tobacco and rice plantations due to wasteful methods of cultivation; repudiation of Locke's theory of natural rights so prevalent in Jefferson's day, and the turn to the political philosophy expressed by Thomas Cooper in his statement that "rights are what society acknowledges and sanctions, and they are nothing else"; the growing importance of cotton in the region and the concomitant strengthening of slavery as an institution—all, accentuated by the rise of the common man to political power, operated as seriously inhibiting factors to freedom of thought and of speech. The most important of these forces, however, was the solidification of Southern sentiment in its socio-

economic conflict with the North over the issues of slavery, states rights, and the tariff, the former complicated by the widespread fear of "servile insurrection" in the region.

This volume of Eaton's won the \$1,500 prize offered by Duke University in 1938-1939 for a scholarly manuscript in the field of social, literary, or artistic history of the United States. Its merit is of a high order, particularly in the enormous amount of careful and diligent research into primary and secondary sources, in the sifting and presentation of these extensive materials, and in the copious footnotes which make possible the verification of the data employed. Any deficiency is in the opinion of the reviewer to be found in the thoroughness of the analysis, which often leaves the reader uncertain as to whether the author has always adequately proved his hypothesis. The sociologist will find the study of value as source materials in collective behavior and social processes. The rural sociologist will regret that the analysis neglects to take account adequately of the comparative rural and urban rôles, as between the North and the South, in accounting for the greater conservatism of the latter in the first half of the nineteenth century. The book is well worth the reading of anyone who would like to understand better the nature and development of the social psychological attitudes in the South, which led inevitably to the bitter War Between the States.

University of Virginia

WILSON GEE

The County Agent. By Gladys Baker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. xxi, 226 pp. \$2.00.

One of the largest and most illuminating chapters in the history of adult education in the United States is that which depicts the rise and development of the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service. In the book under review, Gladys Baker, who has been intimately connected with the extension movement, presents a critical analysis and evaluation of the county agent and his work. Since the county agent is the key person in the Extension Service, the book amounts to a critique of the entire system of Agricultural Extension, presented from the point of view of public administration. After a brief sketch of the rise of the system, the work of the county agent following the World War is analyzed and compared with his work during the depression period following 1929. Other chapters are concerned with the system of responsibility, financial support, and personnel, with a chapter devoted to the Negro county agent.

The author describes a system which began locally, spread rapidly because it met a need, and became involved in the trend toward larger and more powerful governmental agencies engaged in ministering to agriculture. It is her opinion that the county agent will continue to be involved in action programs and that control will center increasingly in the National Capitol. She sees that the agent is now hampered rather than aided in his duties as a public servant by a too intimate connection with particular farmers' organizations such as the Farm Bureau which have ceased to be entirely concerned with the extension program as was formerly the case.

The treatment is sympathetic and intelligent throughout. This does not prevent some severe criticism, however. The agent is seen as a "technical teacher who has been more concerned with the immediate and apparent results of his advice than with its social implications." (p. 212.) "In the future, he needs to become as effective in his analysis of the large economic and social problems of the state, region, and nation as he has been in distributing specialized project solutions in the past." (p. 208.) The present movement toward county planning has emphasized the truth of this point in a convincing manner.

The author sees need for greater emphasis upon the few major problems of the county and less upon many technical projects. To this end she suggests that more money be spent for agents and less for subject matter specialists. (p. 213.) There can be no doubt that more emphasis upon the larger problems is needed. Perhaps the technical projects could be placed under the supervision of an assistant county agent, leaving the agent free to deal with the larger problems of planning.

The author recognizes that the Extension Service has failed to serve the disadvantaged third (or is it a larger percentage) of the farm population. But she seems to think that a change in policy will correct this situation. The reviewer believes that she overestimates the flexibility of the Extension Service. It is true that the system has shown considerable adaptability, but always within a general pattern—a pattern which has never included, except indirectly, the marginal and submarginal farmers. It will necessitate a considerable change in philosophy from top to bottom, together with important changes in the training of county agents, to effect the change. Furthermore, other agencies, such as the Farm Security Administration, are springing up to serve the farmers at the bottom of the economic scale. Because of this increase in the number of action agencies operating in the county, it is a question of more than academic importance to inquire what the future position of the county agent will be with respect to these agencies. Will he be the leader of the group, or will he be merely "one of the boys"?

University of Missouri

C. E. LIVELY

Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana. By Roger Wallace Shugg. University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1939. x, 372 pp. \$3.50.

"A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875," the descriptive subtitle of this work, has long been wanting. That this particular study is confined to Louisiana enhances rather than decreases its value; the way is now open for further treatment of the status of that almost-forgotten man, the nonplanter white, in other areas of the South before the War of Secession and during Reconstruction. The author carefully shows the economic position of the nonslaveholding whites during the slavery system, and of the nonplanter whites after the abolition of slavery. Both before and after, they suffered from the peculiar organization of the social order. The peculiarity of the social order was not confined to the "peculiar institution" of slavery but involved

the broader caste system, which remained after abolition. It was this caste system, coupled with a belief in the possibility of economic advancement, which prevented effective development of class-consciousness among the "poor whites" and insured their support of the very social order which was their economic nemesis. For the caste system made that type of labor typically performed by Negroes, slave or free, dishonorable for the whites. Yet the nonslaveholding whites were assured that there were only two social classes, the blacks and the whites, and that all whites therefore belonged to the upper class. Even the independent farmers, although "respected members of the community," could not hope to compete with the economically affluent and politically dominant planters. Those sporadic outbursts of discontent which occurred were short-lived, for neither education nor political power was available for effective resistance. Although Shugg's analysis is rarely put in Marxian terms, all this is documentation of the importance of the noneconomic elements in the relationships of production (*Produktionsverhältnisse*).

The materials of this book are much too meaty for brief review. The backgrounds for many of the social and economic problems of the contemporary South are to be found in such factors as the rapid early economic development and subsequent rigidification of class lines, accompanied by the persistance of the belief in the possibility of social advancement; the orientation of the entire class structure to the caste system; and the semi-geographical basis for class distinctions, contributing to continual intersectional political strife. Despite the abolition of slavery and the increasing class-consciousness of the lower classes, "The people who were poor and white had changed neither their color nor their condition in any appreciable sense."

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes. By J. H. Kolb and and Edmund deS. Brunner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. xvii, 694 pp. \$3.75.

This is the second edition of a rural sociology text that was first published in 1935. The original work has been somewhat revised, and enlarged to the extent of about fifty pages. The tables and data have been brought up to date, and the rural developments of the last five years have been taken into account. The chapters dealing with various phases of agriculture as well as those concerned with the standard of living, public health and welfare, and recreation and sociability are the ones that have been subjected to most alteration. Thus, except for the addition of a new chapter on rural youth and minor additions and changes in a few other chapters, the work remains in form and content substantially unaltered. The treatment of the problem of country youth is a brief but timely summary of conditions, and it constitutes the distinctive contribution of the revised edition.

The authors draw rather heavily on the third study of rural trade centers, previously published as Rural Trends in Depression Years, and also on local

surveys in Wisconsin for their revision data. However useful the material derived from the study of a few score rural trade centers may be, the student may easily come to feel that this particular source has been overworked and question whether the data drawn therefrom fully typify conditions throughout rural America.

Although the work remains an informing and penetrating analysis of many aspects of rural life, its strong emphasis on the economic and business phases of agriculture and its inclusion of such topics as local government make it something more than a treatise on the sociology of country life. This need not detract in the least from its general usefulness, but it does tend to confuse the student as to the true nature and scope of sociology in general and rural sociology in particular.

Oberlin College

NEWELL L. SIMS

Das Pennsylvaniendeutsche Bauernland. Von E. Meynen. Verlag von S. Hirzel in Leipzig, 1939. pp. 252-292.

Meynen describes the culture of the peoples of German origin in Pennsylvania, estimating their number at from eight hundred thousand to a million. He locates and traces the origin of the various religious sects, particularly the original German groups of Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, Dunkers, Lutherans, and other protestant groups, as well as the groups such as Methodists, United Brethren, and others which came into existence at about the turn of the century.

Although most of the German settlers came from areas in Germany or Switzerland where the village community was common, the prevailing type of settlement in Pennsylvania was the isolated holding. The author claims this change in form of settlement was due to the abundance of land at the time of settlement, the method of clearing the land, and settlement regulations. Also, the barns are not attached to the houses as in some German areas. The unique red barns and stone churches distinguish the German farms from the Scotch-Irish and Anglican groups, but few material cultural traits have not been influenced by the American neighbors. This being true, the author poses the question, Why do their farms produce so much more per acre than do those of people of different ethnic backgrounds? Meynen holds that this and other differences are to be explained by the attitudes and religious beliefs of the people. Land is something sacred, to be passed down from father to son; it is not to be exploited. Farming is a way of life, not a business. Gardens, production for home use, diversification, and scientific methods have been harmonized into a "never boom, never bust" philosophy. Pride in their farms and disparagement for the outer world have made it possible to build a culture in which farms have been passed down through seven generations with little fluctuation in soil fertility.

The maps included in the study indicate the location of the Pennsylvania German settlements as related to the forest areas, the types of soil, and other geographical features, as well as the types of crops grown.

United States Department of Agriculture

C. P. LOOMIS

An American Exodus. By Dorothea Lange and Paul S. Taylor. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939. 158 pp.

Adrift on the Land. By Paul S. Taylor. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 1940. 31 pp.

Here are two publications for the thousands of citizens who were startled by the Joads and wondered whether the story of dispossessed farmers turned into migratory workers could be real, and, if real, how it all came to be. Both are startling in their careful portrayal of the backgrounds and outlines of the problems of the migrant workers, and of the directions which action might take. Both add to the extensive efforts of Paul Taylor and Dorothea Lange to bring to public attention the plight of this group of workers, victims of forces beyond their control.

An American Exodus in a series of vivid photographs and in carefully selected text, tells the story of agricultural changes developing surplus population in some areas; of a form of agriculture which requires large numbers of migratory workers for short periods of time; of a social structure which is reluctantly beginning to provide assistance to the workers when their labor is not required; of a puzzled group of people looking for a place to rest and wondering what the forces are which keep them adrift. There are many revealing excerpts from conversations with the migrants. The end papers, with their pithy quotations, are a unique feature of the book.

Adrift on the Land is one of the pamphlets in the series sponsored by the Public Affairs Committee. Much of the available information on the subject is summarized, with the major factors grouped under 5 heads: (1) industrialized agriculture; (2) desire of employers for complete control of wages as distinct from other costs; (3) perishability of crops; (4) lack of status of mobile workers in agriculture; (5) a surplus of farm workers, many of whom are American farmers who have been driven from the land. To these should be added the impact of industrial unemployment, resulting in the sharp curtailment of the stream of migration from country to city which had been an important outlet for farm youth before 1930. A large proportion of the young people currently reaching maturity on farms find scant opportunity to become farm operators or industrial or service workers. This is an important factor in producing the problems of those who are adrift on the land.

Taylor concludes that "the 'farm problem' is becoming no longer the problem of price alone, for even when price is adequate there remains insecurity in a variety of forms. The farm problem is becoming also a problem of the relation of people to the land on which they work. Among the most dramatic symptoms of insecurity is our migratory agricultural labor." This is a problem not only of one segment of agricultural workers, but of the whole organization of agriculture.

United States Department of Agriculture

Emigrant Communities in South China. By Ta Chen. Edited by Bruno Lasker. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. xvi, 287 pp.

A significant population movement still in process is that of the other Asiatic peoples to the southeast, especially to Siam, the Malay states, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines (see R. Mukerjee, Migrant Asia, Rome, 1936). This study tells the story of the Chinese part of that migration both in general terms and by studies of neighboring communities, some of which have contributed heavily to the movement. To an unusual degree these "overseas Chinese maintain connections with their homeland and periodically give practical expression to their sense of belonging by remitting money to their families in the villages from which they or their forebears have come." The proof of this is one of the central themes of the book. The income of families with members abroad is markedly higher than of families in the communities which have not shared in the emigration. Four-fifths of the income of the families with migrants away is accounted for by remittances from their overseas members. Indeed, local earnings in the emigrant communities are about 25 per cent lower than in the non-emigrant ones. This was despite the fact that the depression had sharply reduced remittances from emigrants by 1934-1935, when the field work was

Emigrants' funds are also invested in numerous homeland, commercial, and social enterprises, such as factories, utilities, and bus lines. The emigrants show great enthusiasm for the development of education. Thus, ideas as well as money return from Nan Yang, as the Chinese designate the whole of southeastern Asia to which this migration has gone. The migrant enriches his "compatriots at home not only with what his money can buy, but also with his tastes, ideas, and aspirations." These changes are analyzed under the familiar categories of social change, livelihood, food, clothing and shelter, the family, education, health, social organizations, and religion. The family chapter is especially interesting. Nan Yang Chinese often establish families in the lands to which they have gone, even though maintaining and frequently visiting their families in China. Often the Chinese wife manages quite successfully the family's interests at home. Such an arrangement is not without its problems, as Ta Chen shows, but is possible under the concept of the family as traditionally held by the Chinese.

Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

Body, Boots and Britches. By Harold W. Thompson. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939. 530 pp. \$3.50.

This book consists of twenty chapters of American folk tales and folklore revolving about such subjects as sailors, pirates, injun-fighters, whalers, canawlers, lumbermen, rafters, mountaineers, heroes, warriors, tricksters, robbers, witches, ghosts, murderers, lovers' ballads, proverbs, and place-names. The materials have been gathered by students under the author's direction in the State of New York and were by him edited and organized. The title of the book is a proverb meaning "the whole thing," and in this instance covers a collection of

tall tales, stories, songs, wise-sayings, anecdotes, bits of gossip and accounts handed down by word of mouth concerning various sorts of events and persons, and experiences told by the people themselves.

The author calls it New York folklore and justifies the work on the ground that this state "is the most typical and varied of all states in its folklore." In fact, he suggests that much of the folklore found in the Western States derives from New York. No doubt some of it does, but probably most of it is common to the rural folk who migrated from the Old World to the New and to those who have lived their lives on the frontiers throughout our history. About the only thing peculiarly New York in what is here offered is, in the reviewer's opinion, the fact that the author happened to find it prevalent among rural residents of the Empire State.

The work represents a vast amount of labor extended over many years. Its chief merit consists in the fact that it assembles and presents in organized form a body of authentic material sufficient in scope and variety to reveal what is probably the true nature of the folklore of rural America. Apart from the value of such a demonstration, there is little that can be said in praise of the book. With the exception of the chapter on place-names and occasionally a salty tale, the reviewer finds little of worth in the volume. Much of its content is trivial stuff not deserving of record in the name of folklore or anything else. A great deal is extremely banal, lacking sufficient humor or inherent interest to justify printing. It is hard to understand the author's enthusiasm for collecting anything and everything emanating from the vapid minds of countrymen except on the basis of the collectors' mania. Perhaps his material throws some light on rural psychology, but otherwise it is difficult to justify the labor spent in collecting it.

Oberlin College

NEWELL L. SIMS

American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People and Their Dilemmas. By Howard W. Odum. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. vii, 549 pp. \$3.00.

In this volume "inscribed primarily to American youth in their search for security and reality" the author presents the product of a wide experience in the study of social problems. The book is not confined to rigid textbook style or organization though it is obviously addressed to novices in the field. The point of view expressed is frankly "scientific-liberal" as opposed to "dogmatic-conservative," "agnostic-objective," or any other point of view denying the effectiveness of social science and of social planning. The presentation of problems is depicted as a "continuous, unfolding story" of American life. This picture is drawn in a vigorous style calculated to stimulate the emotions as well as the intellect. "A part of the picture is the epic quality of the powerful sweep of time, change, and technology." (p. v.) The sincere belief of the author in the American dream pervades the entire work.

The first section, which is much the greater part of the book, is a presentation of the problems and their backgrounds. Hundreds of problems are mentioned or discussed, revealing the author's encyclopedic knowledge of the American scene. The reader is continuously bombarded with a stimulating, if at times bewildering, galaxy of questions, all of which go unanswered in this section. The second section is an "aid to the search for answers," including a carefully selected bibliography on each of the major problems discussed, in an attempt to provide the tools for a "realistic framework of inquiry." The problems are grouped under four descriptive headings entitled "Natural and Cultural Heritage," "The People," "Institutions of the People," and "Testing Grounds for the People." The latter is a discussion of the more general problems related to the orientation of our society as a whole to a chaotic world. Though rural problems are not emphasized, there is a sympathetic discussion of them in a chapter entitled "The Community—Rural and Urban."

Princeton University

DUDLEY KIRK

Foundations of Sociology. By George A. Lundberg. New York: Macmillan, 1939. xx, 556 pp. \$3.50.

This is a polemic. It is being hailed by laymen and scholars in other fields as a sign that at last sociology is being made scientific. It is a wordy book and a stimulating one. It says in a vigorous and persuasive way what we have been telling our classes for some years. Sociologists should read it; I am not sure they should recommend it to their colleagues.

Part I emphasizes the need for objectification and quantification as means of obtaining that "corroboration of responses" which is reliable observation and from which we may derive generalizations of pragmatic utility. This is a clarifying review of scientific method and a demonstration that most of the excuses sociologists offer for the paucity of reliable principles are irrelevant. The "visibility" of social phenomena and the role of measurement in "knowing" and defining objects, including "intangible" objects, were never better demonstrated. In criticism we may say that others have pointed out the sterility of Lundberg's adopting natural science concepts, as energy. No less amusing is Lundberg's penchant for disposing of non-operational definitions in the deft manner that the Freudian uses to destroy the heretic's criticisms. And the generous admission of language behavior to the realm of objective data neatly finesses many technical obstacles to measurement.

In Part II the author strives to polish up some basic concepts of sociology by passing them through a purifying bath of his epistemology. On many points—the fallacy of the "group fallacy" notion, equilibrium, public opinion—his criticisms and amendments are incisive. These comments draw upon his previous argument about objectivity but not, as he asserts, upon the specific ideas about measurement. Nor are these discussions more enlightening than similar critiques by many other methodologically less sophisticated scholars.

Five chapters in Part III discuss types of groups, institutions, demography, ecology, and change. This part is really a modest "principles" textbook. It is not overly clear or original, nor is any essential dependence upon the previous

methodology demonstrated. Sayingold things in new words does give new perspective on occasional processes and concepts, but this does not validate the specific methodology proposed, and this part could stand without the rest of the book.

But is this a book on sociology? The methodology is pertinent for all the social sciences. The illustrations are mainly sociological—aside from amateurish discussions of economics and political science. Yet nowhere is there a definition of sociology that distinguishes the field from any other social science or from the old "synthesis" sociology. Is it inexpedient to suggest that the unity, coherence, and integration of sociological generalizations for which Lundberg pleads require an indication of what particular "differential response," what aspect of the behavior of men, shall be the subject of sociologists' studies? Does unity come from showing that energy is a concept applicable to social as well as "physical" phenomena?

Iowa State College

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Revista Mexicana de Sociologia. A publication of the Institute of Social Investigation of the Mexican National University. Mexico, D. F., 1939. (Paging varies per issue.) \$1.00 (Mex.).

Fundamentos de Sociologia. By A. Carneiro Leão. Rio de Janeiro: Rodriguez & Cia., 1940. 349 pp. (Price not given).

The virility and usefulness of any science or intellectual movement is measured partly by its spread and recognition by diverse peoples. Here is the first purely sociological journal, as far as the reviewer knows, published in Mexico. The Revista Mexicana, excellently edited by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, director of the Institute for Social Investigation in the National University at Mexico City, has passed through its first year, appearing about once each quarter. Each issue consists of about 175 pages broken into 9 or 10 original articles, a summary of recent Spanish-American contributions of interest to sociologists (edited by Rafael Heliodoro Valle), and a book review section.

The work appears to be a combination of a general Spanish-American journal of sociology, an avenue for publication of the specific researches made by members of the University's Social Investigation Institute, and a source where the other sociologists of the world can not only read of the investigations in Latin-America but also send their own contributions. Thus there are articles from such persons as John L. Gillin, Howard Becker, Ernest Mowrer, B. Malinowski, Harry Alpert, and Maurice Halbwachs. A criticism of these contributions, however, is that most of them, with the possible exceptions of those by Gillin and Alpert, have been published either in English or in the native language of the writer, elsewhere. Nevertheless, this is a first-rate journal and deserves our support not only for its possible future use in science and inter-American good will but because most of the Latin-American studies published are right down the road in our own special interest in rural sociology.

Professor Leão of the University of Brazil, who is already known internation-

ally for his publications in sociology, rural sociology, and education, presents here a textbook of principles of sociology in Portuguese, "official" language of Brazil. The well-balanced nature of his text not only gives the general conceptions of sociology an adequate introduction, but in special chapters he shows those of most important application not only to the city but to the rural and country environment. The fact that Brazil has a great rural population is reflected in the fact that this book on principles of sociology for Brazil emphasizes the rural milieu. This principle, too often neglected in the United States of America, gives the work a freshness and concreteness and makes it much more "realistic" than the average text of principles in English. His references and notes cover the chief works of most of the prominent North American sociologists.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Thraldom in Ancient Iceland: A Chapter in the History of Class Rule. By Carl O. Williams. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. xxv, 167 pp. \$2.50.

A transplanted Germanic society is here described on the basis of materials drawn from the Eddic Poems, the Geneological Sagas, and the laws of early Iceland. Although the author's interests are in the description of class divisions rather than in comprehensive analytical treatment, his materials tell us much about the total social structure. The study is useful as a source of data for comparative analyses.

Early Icelandic society contained three main social classes: jarls (warriors, priests), franklins (yeoman farmers and artisans), and thralls (slaves, serfs). This hierarchy was explained by myth and legend, sanctioned by religion, and maintained by a strong ruling class which was willing to use any means necessary to keep its position. It was a society of "realistic" groups in which the individual figured only as a trustee of group values. The thralls were homini de facto rather than de juris, i.e., men "in appearance" but not in the eyes of the law. Justice was status justice. Students of rural society will note with interest the familiar patterns of strong social sentiments, corporate responsibility, particularistic loyalties, etc., which characterize young, non-urbanized societies.

The materials of the study throw additional light on the problem of the functions of linguistic labels (stereotypes, epithets, etc.) in social equilibrium. The key to the focal supports of a social system is often indicated by the symbolic channelizations of attitudes. Other points of particular interest include the author's discussion of the introduction and modification of Christianity within the older culture, and the sections dealing with the disappearance of thraldom. Just as feudalism on the Continent simply "evaporated," so did thraldom die away without reference to formal abolition.

Some cautions should be kept in mind in appraising this work. The use of laws and literary materials as data is beset by the danger of taking a cultural pattern as actually descriptive of behavior. Furthermore, ideologies, and descriptions based upon them, are most fruitfully treated when not taken at face-value,

but analyzed as social definitions, bases of expectation, and symbols of group identification. The present study fails to avoid some pitfalls in this type of interpretation, and suffers from inadequate theoretical systemization. Nevertheless, it is a useful source for any rural sociologist who wishes to understand the Geist of emergent twentieth-century status-societies.

University of Kentucky

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS

Preface to An Educational Philosophy. By I. B. Berkson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. xvi, 250 pp. \$2.50.

From such a book as this, the sociologist is indelibly impressed with the fact that he has scarcely begun to do what he might in behalf of professedly openminded "social engineers" who are marshalling forces to reorient and revamp modern societies. He realizes indeed that he has hardly begun to provide them with any adequate, realistic, concrete analysis of modern society. To a much greater extent than is true of certain other mobilizing groups, the militant educators at least profess "to envisage the character of the age to come on the basis of an analysis of the past and of current trends"; and only then do they launch out into "the main lines of social organization which are needed to embody the fundamental agelong human ideals in forms appropriate to the new age." (p. 210.) Like various other groups, they present their own special selection of analyses of political forms and processes, and of economic ones-let the political scientist and the economist comment on those. But, although these educators have the keenest interest in human social relations, and are not economic determinists, such men as the author seem to find no need of taking into consideration the momentums, tendencies, or resistances in other aspects of the vast social and cultural matrix.

Avowing that his "educational views have been largely shaped by the teachings" of John Dewey and W. H. Kilpatrick, the author declares that the school must adapt itself not merely to the past, but to the present society; and this society, for him, is not only undergoing change, but is in a crisis. From this point of view, he criticizes those with multitudinous but unified social objectives. He then delivers a blast against R. M. Hutchins' "metaphysical approach" as utterly naïve, conservative, unhistorical, illogical. As for himself, he takes as the basic plan in his educational philosophy ("ideal way of living") the worth of the individual human being. He calls for a democratization of industry as well as government, for planned economy, for equality among racial and cultural minorities, and for internationalism based on democratic and socialistic nationality-groups.

He knows he is weaving his hope for a better world into his desire for the future age; but, so far as facts are available, he believes he is making a scientific analysis of present as well as past society. His book is hailed by his "reconstructionist" colleagues and many other educators as a great work. The sociologist can hardly be expected to agree.

Urbana, Illinois

MAURICE T. PRICE

Forty Years a Country Preacher. By George B. Gilbert. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. xiii, 319 pp. \$2.75.

Doc's Wife. By Faye Cashatt Lewis. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. 198 pp. \$2.00.

Gilbert's autobiography is the delightful story of the son of a Democratic Vermont farmer who entered the Episcopalian ministry. With this auspicious beginning, he spent his life serving the people of rural mission churches in Middlesex County, Connecticut, as agricultural advisor, recreation specialist, social worker, cook, barber, plumber, politician, and minister. It was almost inevitable that Gilbert should come into serious conflict with the adherents of the orthodox church. At the end of a decade of conflict, he found himself without a church. In this period of reorientation, he heard a series of talks by Kenyon Butterfield stressing the fact that the supreme emphasis in the rural ministry should be on the rural people themselves. It is to these talks that Gilbert attributes the development of his broad social conception of the function of the church. Be that as it may, the next thirty years were spent in religious, social, and economic service to the rural poor in his area, regardless of nativity or even prior or present religious beliefs or affiliations.

This country minister, although chosen in a nationwide contest as a "typical country parson," is not representative from the standpoint of area or denomination, innate ability, personality, or social conception of the ministry. However, his story is a case study of the possibilities for the integration of church and community in the furtherance of the welfare of individuals, the development and maintenance of the community, and the survival of the rural church itself.

The life of "Doc's wife" stands in marked contrast to that of the Gilberts. The Lewises began the practice of medicine in a small Iowa town, and, as far as Mrs. Lewis' story indicates, seldom wavered in their attitude of condescending superiority toward the rural and small town people who supported them. The only value of the story for sociologists is as a case study in professional attitudes which differ widely from those of the traditional "country doctor."

Princeton University

IRENE BARNES TAEUBER

Marusia. Hrihory Kvitka. Translation from the Ukrainian by Florence Randal Livesay. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1940. 217 pp. \$2.00.

In this Ukrainian folk classic, superbly rendered in translation by Mrs. Livesay, rural sociologists will find many insights into the life and customs of a peasant culture. A poignant love story, written over a hundred years ago, it gives us an intimate understanding not only of the folkways relating to courtship and marriage but also of folk dances; burial customs; the relationships between town and country, social classes, the young and the old; the psychology of the patriarchal family; superstition in peasant life; and the profound role of deep religious faith and moral beliefs in a typical peasant culture. It is in the latter respect, perhaps, that the book is most significant, from a sociological point of

view. It impresses us deeply with the radically different psychological orientation a culture makes in all its institutions, attitudes, personality statuses, and roles, when it is dominated by religious, familistic, and moral rather than economic and political values. In this respect it reminds us strongly of Louis Hemon's Maria Chapdelaine. Indeed, it does for the Ukrainian peasant precisely what Maria Chapdelaine does for the French-Canadian "habitant." It reveals him simply, classically, permanently, in intimate human terms, living in a type of culture which for the most part the western world has long since lost. It is without doubt the kind of book the late Thomas G. Masaryk, famous Czech sociologist and statesman, had in mind when he said that he often found the surest avenue to an understanding of a people in a reading of its literature.

Dartmouth College

GEORGE F. THERIAULT

American Local Government. By Roger H. Wells. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. xii, 200 pp. \$1.50.

This concise statement of some major characteristics and problems discernible in local government considers local government in terms of its relation to the citizen, the states, and the Federal Government. A chapter on "areas and structures" outlines the various types of local governing and jurisdictional units. It points out a bewildering and unorganized complexity of relations between local and wider spheres of government, all of which impinge on the activities of the individual. This leads to the conclusion that increasing occupational stratification is being accompanied by an increased *rapprochement* between federal and local administrative agencies, largely as a matter of necessity.

Underlying this needed survey of the surface aspects of local government seems to be the issue of localization vs. centralization of political authority. With the increasingly complex division of labor a possible modification would be more centralization to avoid the unwieldly tendency of local autonomy and the expense of conflicts in jurisdiction. On the other hand, the same social changes place state and federal authorities progressively out of touch with the peculiar problems of the local situation. Hence, the process of governmental differentiation would seem to involve a large-scale program of education to new legal structures and an understanding of problems inherent in the existing bureaucratic organization.

Harvard University

GORDON T. BOWDEN

News Notes and Announcements

NEW MEMBERS AND FORMER MEMBERS REJOINING IN 1940

(Supplementing Membership List Published in December, 1939, and Lists Published in March and June, 1940, Issues of RURAL SOCIOLOGY)

	. 3722 13th St., N.W	
	.Tuskegee Institute	
Kirk, Dudley	Princeton University	Princeton, N. J.
Lampe, Supt. Arthur	St. Louis County Board of Education	Duluth, Minn.
Lawson, Mrs. M. Jones	Florida Normal & Indus. Institute	St. Augustine, Fla.
Lundberg, George A	Bennington College	Bennington, Vt.
	.1326 Grove St	
	Giannini Foundation	
	.University of California	
	.137 Main St	
	San Diego State College	
	.Louisiana State University	
	.St. Francis College	
	.2030 North 32nd St	
	.438 Donaghey Bldg	
Slocum, Walter L	South Dakota State College	Brookings, S. D.
	.Hartford Seminary Foundation	

Cornell University:-

Last fall the writer sent an announcement of prizes for the best "Sociological Description of a Rural Community" to a selected list of teachers of rural sociology. Prizes of \$50, \$25, and \$15 were offered for first, second, and third best papers, to be submitted by instructors certifying that they were the best prepared by members of their classes. The prizes were open to both undergraduates and graduates. Eighteen essays from twelve colleges were submitted in May, 1940, by ten undergraduate and nine graduate students. The best ten were selected by R. A. Polson and me and then submitted to a committee consisting of C. C. Taylor, C. P. Loomis, and Douglas Ensminger, of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, United States Department of Agriculture, to make the final awards.

The prizes were awarded by them as follows:

First, R. W. Kerns, Cornell University, writing under pseudonym of "Logan Bokescreek" on "Buckeyeburg," Ohio.

Second, Reed H. Bradford, Harvard University, on Salem, Utah.

Third, Lee Taylor, Brigham Young University, on Levan, Utah. The judges also gave honorable mention to the following:

1. David R. Jenkins, Teachers College, Columbia University, "A Declining Village" (a large plantation community—Bartholomew, Arkansas).

- 2. Sara Hileman, Pennsylvania State College, "Warriors' Mark Community."
- Loren W. Burch, (written under a pseudonym), Cornell University, "Novo" (pseudonym), New York.
- 4. Ragna Randolph, University of Michigan, "Saugatuck, Michigan."

In the announcement sent out the object was stated as follows: "This offer is made for the purpose of stimulating the study of rural communities by students in rural sociology, and to obtain better case studies than are now available for possible publication as a case book for classes in rural sociology."

I feel that the second objective was fairly well met, but I was disappointed that more essays were not submitted, particularly by undergraduates. I will be glad to continue the offer another year if it is felt by those interested that it will stimulate better community studies by students. To determine this I should like to hear from instructors in rural sociology as to whether they feel such prizes are effective stimuli for better studies by their students.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Louisiana State University:—The General Education Board has made two grants of funds to the university's department of sociology. One of these is for the purpose of employing visiting instructors to carry part of the department's teaching load, thus giving the regular staff members more time for research. Under the provisions of the grant Dr. Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina will spend the session of 1940-1941 at the university as a Visiting Professor. The second grant provides funds for conducting at the university a Training Institute in population research techniques. Under the provisions of this grant Dr. Warren S. Thompson, Director of the Scripps Foundation for Population Research, will be in residence at Louisiana State University during the second semester of the 1940-1941 session.

Social Science Abstracts:—Complete sets of SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS for the four years from 1929 to 1932, inclusive, during which they were published, may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council upon payment of express and handling charges. These charges, to be paid at the time the request is made, amount to \$1.00 anywhere in the United States except California, Oregon, and Washington, where the amount will be \$1.50. For Canada, the charge will be \$3.00, and for other foreign countries, \$4.00.

Communications should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Social Science Research Council:—Eighty-five awards, totaling more than \$95,000.00, for the academic year 1940-1941, have been announced by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York. The awards provide for study and research in the fields of economics; political science; sociology; statistics; political, social, and economic history; cultural anthropology; social psychology; geography; and related disciplines.

Among those listed as receiving grants-in-aid are the following of our members and subscribers: Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University; Robert K. Merton, Tulane University; and Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University.

University of Maryland:—Carl S. Joslyn has been appointed permanent head of the department of sociology.

John B. Holt has been appointed associate professor of sociology. He will take charge of teaching and research in rural sociology, in addition to giving the courses in introductory sociology and population problems.

University of North Carolina:—Howard W. Odum and Harold D. Meyer, with the collaboration of B. S. Holden, of the Peabody Demonstration School, and Fred M. Alexander, of the Virginia State Department of Education, are the authors of American Democracy Anew: An Approach to the Understanding of Our Social Problems, a text for high school use, recently published by Henry Holt and Company.

The Family and Its Social Functions, by Ernest R. Groves, has recently been released by the J. B. Lippincott Company.

An Important New Book

RURAL LIFE IN PROCESS

By PAUL H. LANDIS

Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Rural Sociology, The State College of Washington

McGraw-Hill Publications in Sociology

586 pages, 6×9. \$3.75

In this distinctive text the author emphasizes the effect of contemporary social forces on personality, institutions, and aspects of rural society in the United States, interpreting and integrating rural life from a functional viewpoint, in terms of attitudes and interactions developed under the pattern of rural culture. The book stresses the problems of social adjustment that arise from the speeding up of interaction processes, and depicts vividly the clash of traditional culture patterns with emerging cultural values brought about chiefly by forces of urbanization. A wealth of graphic materials of exceptional quality and interest is included.

Send for a copy on approval

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330 West 42nd Street

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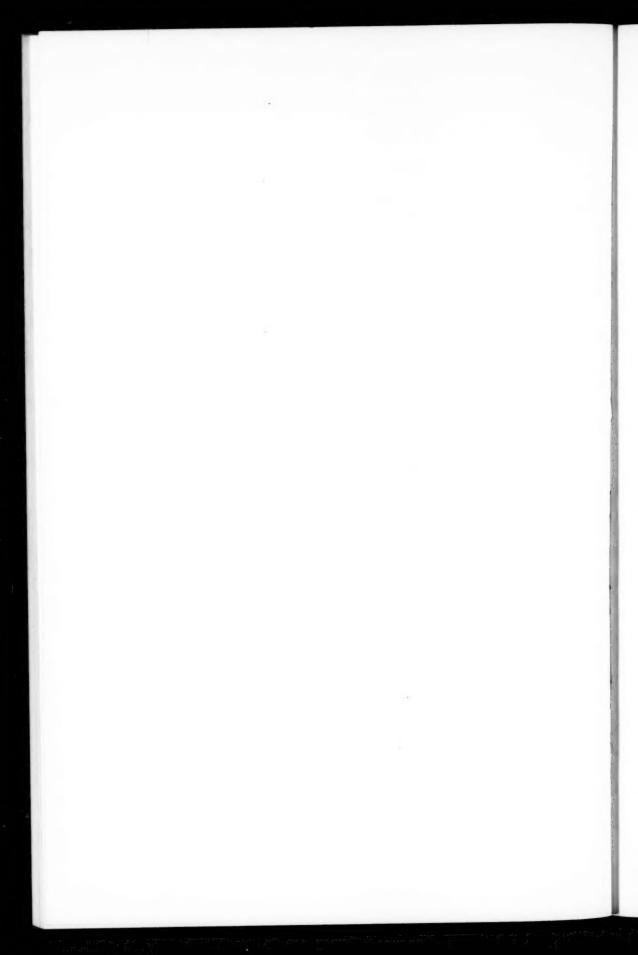
Some of the major articles are:

This Journal, a quarterly, contains also notes, reviews of books and articles, and a list of recent publications and is published in February, May, August, and November by the American Farm Economic Association. Yearly subscription, \$5.00.

Secretary-Treasurer: ASHER HOBSON

Department of Agricultural Economics University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin





RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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